

IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

2453

1002





HARROP'S ELEGANT EDITION.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

IRISH REBELLION,

IN THE YEAR 1798, &c.

CONTAINING

*An Impartial Narrative of the Proceedings*

OF THE

IRISH REVOLUTIONISTS,

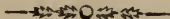
From the Year 1782 till the total Suppression of the Insurrection;

WITH

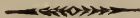
A REVIEW OF THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM ITS FIRST INVASION BY THE ENGLISH, TILL THE  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE REBELLION.



IN TWO VOLUMES.



VOL. II.



ALSTON, CUMBERLAND :

PRINTED BY JOHN HARROP.



1808.

DA949

H3

1808x

v.2

---

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
IRISH REBELLION.

---

PART. II.

*From the formation of the Society of United Irishmen, in the Year seventeen hundred and ninety, to the conclusion of the Rebellion in seventeen hundred and ninety-eight—continued.*

---

CHAP. VI.

WHILE a communication was, by the means already mentioned, nearly laid open between the metropolis and the rest of the kingdom, the flames of civil war were kindled, and began to blaze in a quarter where insurrection was least expected. The county of Wexford had enjoyed a greater portion of social comfort than perhaps any other part of the province of Leinster. Gentlemen of landed property in it were less addicted to the shameful practice of absent-

ing themselves from their estates, so prevalent in other quarters of the kingdom. Improvements were made by them, which would have been overlooked in their absence. The farmers followed the example of their landlords; and the peasants were consequently employed with regularity, which introduced amongst them habits of industry and order. Rents were comparatively low. From all these causes this county was very slowly and imperfectly organized by the United Society. Besides conducting themselves in the most peaceable manner, the Roman catholics had addressed the lord lieutenant through the medium of lord Mountnorris, professing their loyalty, and offering to arm themselves, if permitted, for the preservation of tranquillity. Government was so well convinced by these circumstances of the well affected state of the county, that not above six hundred soldiers were stationed throughout the whole of it; its defence being abandoned chiefly to the yeomanry corps and their supplementaries. The members who composed these corps of protestant yeomanry, inflamed by religious prejudice and the reports of atrocities committed by the Romanists in former times; or perhaps presumptuous from their imaginary superiority over the catholics, imprudently treated the latter with contumely and outrage. The magistrates, with equal imprudence, and that tendency to the abuse of power, so natural to weak and little minds, employed themselves in whipping and imprisoning numbers of persons whom they thought proper to suspect of disloyalty, often without sufficient grounds to authorise such proceed-

ings. The body of six hundred regulars and militia, also ill commanded, and for the most part ill officered, contributed, by previous insult and subsequent timidity, to forward the work of rebellion. Those who insult and tyrannize over the peaceable and submissive, are for the most part the first to shrink at the appearance of danger, and to fly from the presence of such as, by their own imprudence, and by repeated injuries, they have roused to resentment and to vengeance. The system of imprisonment and of flogging, however, appears to have been principally the cause of disaffection: "I am well informed, that no floggings had place in the town of Wexford, nor in the baronies of Forth and Bargo; and that in those baronies no atrocities were committed before or since the rebellion\*." Whatever might have been the state of this county, whether it would have continued in a state of tranquillity or not, had not these rigorous measures been adopted; certain it is, that after the insurrection did commence, the number of insurgents was greatly increased by the lawless conduct of straggling parties of yeomen, who too frequently shot unarmed and unoffending persons in the roads, in the fields at work, and even in their houses.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of May, the standard of rebellion was raised for the first time in this

---

\* Note of the Rev. Mr Gordon ---See his History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798, &c. p. 103.

county, by father John Murphy, Romish priest of Boulavogue, commonly called Father John, a man of mean intellects, and a fanatic in religion; but at the same time eminently qualified to rouse the ignorant multitude to tumult. He kindled a fire on a hill called Corrigrua, as a signal for his associates to assemble, which was answered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own house at Boulavogue. This rising was communicated to the garrison at Enniscorthy by a female named Piper, the daughter of a widow whose house the insurgents had assaulted, and from which she had escaped by leaping out at a window, and flying to Enniscorthy on horseback. The house was situated at a place called Tincurry, about four miles from Enniscorthy. The insurgents wounded the widow, broke the arm of one of her daughters, who was with child, and slew her nephew, a young man named Candy.

Murphy, having burned some protestant houses, proceeded to a place called the Harrow; where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen infantry, commanded by lieutenant Bookey, who was slain in the commencement of the action while advancing before his men to harangue the insurgents. This beginning of hostilities, and the success by which it was attended, brought great numbers to join the rebels, so that on the succeeding morning, Whitsunday, [May 27.] two very considerable bodies had collected, one on the hill of Oulart, about eleven miles to the south of Wexford; the other on Kilthomas hill, an

inferior ridge of Slyeeve Bwee mountain, about nine miles westward of Gorey. These bodies of insurgents were mixed multitudes of persons of both sexes and all ages. Against the rebels assembled at Oulart, commanded by father John Murphy in person, was detached, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, one hundred and ten chosen men of the North Cork militia. On the advance of the king's troops, a party descended from the southern side of the hill, apparently with intention to have engaged them. These were broken and dispersed at the first onset, and fled with precipitation to the northern side of the hill, whither they were pursued with so little apprehension of resistance, that no rank or order was observed. On reaching the northern summit, they were informed that a considerable body of cavalry had that morning been observed approaching the hill, in the direction whither they were flying, and that their intention was either to intercept them in their retreat, or to co-operate with the infantry in a joint attack. As they were yet so unskilled in military affairs as to regard an attack from cavalry the most formidable that could be made upon them, and as Father Murphy exclaimed they must either conquer or inevitably perish, they turned again upon their pursuers, who had by this time, breathless with running, nearly gained the top. Only about three hundred of the rebels, however, ventured to make this desperate attack, which was so sudden and impetuous, that the whole of the troops, except the lieutenant-colonel, a serjeant, and three privates, were killed almost in an instant, including



one major, one captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign.

The body of cavalry, for fear of whom the insurgents were driven to this desperate exertion of courage, had that morning early left Gorey with intention to attack them; but after they had proceeded about thirteen miles, the number and position of the enemy was such as to induce them to retreat, which they accomplished after killing some unarmed stragglers and several old men whom they found in the houses. They were ignorant that the North Cork militia had that morning marched to attack the same body.

Against the rebels assembled at Kiltomas hill, consisting of between two and three thousand armed men, besides women, children, &c. a body of about three hundred yeomen, infantry and cavalry, marched, and were more successful than their brethren at Oulart. The infantry of this little army, flanked at a considerable distance on the left by the cavalry, advanced up the hill against the rebels, who were posted on the summit, with the utmost intrepidity; and the insurgents were so panic-struck by a few discharges of musketry, that they fled, and were pursued with the loss of about a hundred and fifty men. The victors also, in the course of seven miles march, burned two catholic chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farmhouses.

Meantime the victorious body of Oulart, under



father Murphy, elated with their success, marched and took possession of Camolin, a town six miles westward of Gorey, whither its loyal inhabitants had fled for refuge. The whole country presented the most rueful aspect of civil warfare—houses in flames, part fired by the rebels, and part by the military; while the frightened inhabitants were flying in all quarters; the protestants to the towns, the Romanists to the hills, or to join the rebel parties of their persuasion. From Camolin, the rebels advanced to Ferns, two miles further, from whence the loyalists had fled to Enniscorthy, six miles to the south. On the same morning the garrison of Carnew, nine miles from Gorey, consisting of three yeomanry corps, in all about two hundred men, attacked a large body of rebels who were preparing to assault that town, and compelled them to fly to Ferns, with the loss of nine killed and two taken prisoners.

Father Murphy found himself now in such strength that he determined, on Monday the twenty-eighth, the day after his victory at Oulart, to hazard an attack on the town of Enniscorthy, which was garrisoned by about three hundred men; as by the following return:—

*North Cork militia.*

	<i>Cpts.</i>	<i>Subs.</i>	<i>Sergs.</i>	<i>Drums.</i>	<i>R. &amp; F.</i>
Capt. Snowe's company,	1	1	3	2	56
Capt. De Courcy's do.	0	1	2	1	24
	—	—	—	—	—
Total of North Cork,	1	2	5	3	80

*Return of the garrison continued,*

	<i>Cpts.</i>	<i>Subs.</i>	<i>Sergs.</i>	<i>Drums.</i>	<i>R. &amp; F.</i>
Brought over of N. Cork.	1	2	5	3	80
<i>Enniscorthy infantry.</i>					
Capt. Pouden -	1	2	2	1	50
Do. supplementary,	0	1	3	0	57
<i>Scarawalsh infantry.</i>					
Capt. Cornock, -	1	2	3	1	60
<i>Enniscorthy cavalry.</i>				<i>Trump.</i>	
Capt. Richards, -	1	2	2	1	50
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	4	9	15	6	297
	—	—	—	—	—

*Officers names.*

North Cork—Captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, ensign Harman.

Enniscorthy infantry—Captain Pouden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt.

Supplementary—lieutenant Pouden.

Scarawalsh infantry---Captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd.

Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the sixty-third regiment, joined the troops a volunteer.

The rebels, amounting to about seven thousand, eight hundred of whom were armed with muskets, appeared before the town about one o'clock in the afternoon. Enniscorthy, situate on both sides of the river Slaney, over which there is a stone bridge, is a market, a post, and a borough town. The market-house, court-house, and principal streets are on the south side. On the north are two suburbs called Templeshannon and Drumgoold, which extend close to Vinegar Hill, a mountain about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, sixteen from Ross, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Tahmon, six from Ferns, and ten from Newtown-Barry. The river being navigable with the tide, it was a place of considerable trade, and contained between four and five thousand inhabitants. As intelligence had been received at nine o'clock that the enemy was advancing against the town, the garrison had their different positions and rallying posts immediately assigned them by captain Snowe, as commanding officer. The North-Cork were stationed on the bridge; the Enniscorthy cavalry in the street leading to it from the town; and the Enniscorthy and Scarawalsh infantry at the Duffreygate-hill on the Carlow road. A considerable guard was also posted at the market-house, where the arms and ammunition were lodged; and another guard over some suspicious persons confined in the castle. As the rebels approached towards the Duffrey-gate, in a strong column of about a mile in length, where many avenues led into the town, captains Cornock and Pounden led their yeomen forward, in a line about

four hundred yards from the gate; on which the enemy halted about the same distance from them, and parties filed off about half a mile to the right and left of the main body, with design to outflank the yeomen. After this movement, they advanced a few paces, drove a multitude of cattle and horses against the troops, and gave a general volley from right to left; so effective that captain Cornock, and lieutenants Hunt and Pounden, were wounded, the two latter mortally; and several privates killed and wounded. The yeomen returned the fire with considerable effect; but the rebels continued to advance, firing at the same time with such precision, that lieutenant Hunt, who had served during great part of the American war, astonished at their steadiness and celerity, declared that he had never before experienced so heavy and well directed a fire. As the rebels continued to extend their wings, the yeomen deemed it prudent to retire near to the town, where they dispatched a message to captain Snowe, who defended the bridge, to require him to hasten to their assistance. That gentleman immediately marched to their aid with the North Cork militia; but understanding that the rebels were moving towards the bridge, he retreated to his former station in order to defend it: ordering the cavalry to cover his rear, a large body of the enemy having advanced to his last position. These captain Richards accordingly charged and dispersed, but had nine of his corps killed and three wounded, and sixteen horses killed. Captain Snowe arrived at the bridge in time to prevent the enemy from crossing.

Meantime the troops at the Duffrey-gate, finding they must quickly be surrounded by the long extended wings of the enemy, if they continued to hold their position, divided themselves into small parties; and occupying the different avenues leading into the town, defended them for some time with the greatest spirit and resolution; though the streets in which they fought had been fired by some of the disaffected inhabitants, in order to annoy them. These brave men, however, were at length compelled to retreat to the market-house, where they again made a stand. The rebels now attempted to ford the river in many places, but were galled from the bridge, which had become the station of defence. So fluctuating was the success of the day, during several hours, that many of the inhabitants, in order to avoid the fury of the prevailing party, had alternately displayed the orange and the green ribbon. At length the rebels, fording the river both above and below the bridge, some of them up to the middle, others to the neck in water, entered the eastern part of the town and fired it; when the garrison retreated in great disorder towards Wexford, fourteen miles distant, having expended the whole of their ammunition, though they had repeatedly filled their pouches from the militia magazine. An instance of intrepidity displayed by a yeoman, we deem not unworthy of notice: a spent ball having lodged in his neck, he had it extracted by the assistance of an officer; and calmly charging his piece with it, returned it to the enemy. The garrison, in this obstinate engagement, lost eighty-eight men, among whom were cap-

tain Pounden of the supplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh. Besides these, many of a large body of loyalists who joined the troops as volunteers, armed with guns, pistols, swords, &c. fell in the action. The rebels lost about three hundred men. As many of the protestant inhabitants as had time to escape, fled in distraction to Wexford, which they accomplished with difficulty. The weather was fine, and they were not pursued. The following account of the escape of the rev. Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormuck, and his family, will convey to the reader an adequate idea of the situation of the loyalists. Mr Handcock had personally fought in defence of the town.

“ Finding that we could no longer keep our ground,  
“ I rushed singly through the streets, with a blunder-  
“ buss cocked, and presenting it at every person who  
“ looked at me, running for my life, but without the  
“ faintest hope of saving it, or that of my family,  
“ yet determined to share their fate; and with great  
“ difficulty getting into my house, locked and barri-  
“ cadoed by the affrighted inmates, I dragged my  
“ wife down stairs with my children, just as they sat  
“ in her sick room\*; and observing which way the  
“ fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced  
“ them along with the tragical cavalcade, until my,

---

\* She lay-in only two days before.



“ wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the  
“ flames, fell on a burning pile of rubbish, where, un-  
“ able myself, from fatigue, to raise her, she would  
“ have been suffocated, or trampled to death, had not  
“ a gallant fellow of the North-Cork militia, wounded,  
“ and scarce able to drag his legs after him, assisted  
“ me, swearing the Munster oath, ‘ By J----s you  
“ did not forsake us, and I will not desert you.’ The  
“ poor fellow accordingly stuck by us till we arrived  
“ at Wexford. In return for this, having got my wife  
“ and children behind or before mounted yeomen, I  
“ procured a horse for his wife, and carried his mus-  
“ ket as far as I was able. When we came within three  
“ or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeo-  
“ men cavalry of it, who turned out on hearing our  
“ disaster, to cover our retreat.”

On the morning after the rebels got possession of the town, it presented a dreadful scene of conflagration. Part of it was entirely consumed; and in part the flames were spreading with the greatest fury. Above four hundred dwelling-houses, warehouses, &c. were thus destroyed. The rebels, after having formed a camp on Vinegar hill, entrenched it, and erected some batteries, stationed a very strong garrison in Enniscorthy, and placed picquet guards, centinels, and videts, in all the avenues and roads leading to it for some miles round; which were relieved every day from the camp on the hill. The church of Enniscorthy having been stripped by the victors, they conveyed the bell to their camp, where it was employed

for the purpose of marking the hours, and was to be rung as an alarum in case of surprise. An old wind-mill at the top of the hill was converted into a prison for loyalist prisoners. These were all tried by a court-martial, and on being condemned, were led to the front of the rebel line, where they were either shot or piked to death. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, the rebels executed no less than twenty-four persons.





## C H A P. VII.

THE town of Wexford, whither the garrison of Enniscorthy and as many of the loyal inhabitants as could make their escape, had retreated, had been in a state of the greatest alarm and consternation since the commencement of the insurrection, especially since the defeat of the royal troops at the battle of Oulart by father Murphy, on the twenty-seventh. The garrison had now laid aside all thoughts of giving the enemy battle in the field, and confined themselves to making every preparation for a vigorous defence. Amongst other measures taken for this purpose, all fires were ordered to be extinguished, and the roofs of thatched houses to be stripped, lest those inhabitants who were disaffected should assist the assailants by setting fire to the town.

In consequence of a suspicion of treasonable designs the sheriff and others had resolved to apprehend Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargycastle, John

Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, all of them gentlemen of the county of Wexford ; who were accordingly arrested on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, by captain Boyd, of the Wexford cavalry. On the twenty-ninth, Mr Boyd, who had hopes of dispersing the insurgents without either giving them battle or making any concession in their favour, or who concluded that he might at least be able to divert their attention and to retard their progress, visited these three gentlemen in prison, and proposed that one of them should proceed to the rebel camp and endeavour to persuade the insurgents, to retire to their respective homes. It was agreed that Mr Colclough should undertake the mission, provided he was allowed to take Mr Fitzgerald with him. When these two gentlemen arrived at the camp, the rebels were in a state of the utmost distraction ; being undetermined in their plan of operations ; some proposing to attack Newtown-Barry, others Ross, others Wexford, many to remain in their present post, and not a few to return for the defence of their own property, against the Orangemen. On the appearance of the two gentlemen prisoners, however, as they termed them, the divided multitude collected around them with loud shouts of joy and welcome. When Mr Colclough had delivered his message, which was treated with neglect, he retired to put himself again into the hands of those by whom he had been sent, but Mr Fitzgerald remained with the rebels, and that evening accompanied them to a post called Three Rocks, the termination of a long

ridge called Forth Mountain, which forms the boundary of the Bargo and Forth baronies. As Three Rocks is only two miles and a half from Wexford, and as they were now fully determined to attack that town, they remained there during the night.

Meantime the several successful operations of the rebels and their increasing numbers, had spread so great an alarm, that, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, two hundred of the Donegal militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and a six pounder, arrived in Wexford accompanied by colonel Colville, captain Young, and lieutenant Sodon, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison, consisting of the remains of the North Cork militia, about three hundred men; the Healthfield and Enniscorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniscorthy infantry, the Wexford infantry commanded by doctor Jacob, the Scarawalsh infantry, and the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. Colonel Maxwell's reinforcement not being deemed sufficient, a letter was conveyed to general Fawcett at Duncannon-fort from the mayor of Wexford, imploring further assistance, by a Mr Sutton, who returned with the exhilarating tidings, that the general would that evening commence his march to Wexford in person, and bring with him the thirteenth regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery, with two howitzers. Colonel Maxwell, on the receipt of this intelligence; leaving the five passes, which lead into the town, guarded by the North Cork militia and yeomen, took post with his

men on the following morning (May 30), on the Windmill-hill above the town, with intention to march against the enemy on the arrival of general Fawcett's reinforcement.

That general, however, unfortunately for the royal cause, advanced no farther than Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, from whence he sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, eighteen of whom belonged to the artillery, with the two howitzers, the whole commanded by captain Adams of the North Cork militia. The general was unacquainted with the position of the rebels at Three Rocks, which the detachment was obliged to pass on its way to Wexford. At the distance of four miles from Wexford, the detachment observed ten or twelve men on an eminence, and immediately prepared for action. As there was no further appearance of resistance, the detachment again continued its march ; but at Three Rocks, they were suddenly attacked by the insurgents, who, raising a white flag, and uttering loud shouts, cut to pieces nearly the whole party, together with captain Adams. The two howitzers and a considerable quantity of ammunition were also taken. The general, on intelligence of this disaster, instead of making any attempt to recover the howitzers, fell back with precipitation on Duncannon, from whence he sent his family to England, detaining the packet-boat two hours for that purpose.

Meantime intelligence was conveyed to colonel

Maxwell, at Windmill-hill, of the same defeat by lieutenant Fairclough of the Meath militia, and lieutenant Birch of the artillery, who had with great difficulty escaped the slaughter. That gentleman, who could have no suspicion of general Fawcett's retreat, instantly advanced to co-operate in the attempt he naturally concluded would be made to retake the howitzers. When he arrived within cannon-shot of the insurgents, he was attacked by the enemy with the two howitzers, which they had drawn to the top of the ridge, and which they used with a precision, that evinced the management of skilful hands. After discharging his six pounder several times in return, the colonel retreated in good order to Wexford, there being no appearance of general Fawcett's army, his flank being exposed by the flight of the Taghmon cavalry, and the insurgents having made a movement to surround him. In this action lieut. colonel Watson was killed, and two privates wounded. During these transactions, the magnificent wooden bridge \* of Wexford had been set on fire by the disaffected, perhaps with a view to prevent the arrival of succours from the opposite side of the river, or to cut off the retreat of the garrison, should the town be taken by the rebels. It was for-

---

\* This bridge which was completed in February, 1795, stands on seventy-five piers of piles, of six uprights each, with a draw-bridge for vessels to pass through. It is one thousand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad; standing in twenty feet of water. It was built by a subscription of £14,000.

tunately recovered from the flames by the inhabitants.

On the return of Colonel Maxwell a council of war was held, by which it was determined that the town be evacuated, as untenable, for the following reasons :—

I. That the town of Wexford is so situated amidst surrounding hills, as to be indefensible against a numerous enemy, provided with cannon, by a garrison of only six hundred men.

II. That many disaffected yeomen had strengthened the enemy, and weakened the garrison, by deserting to the rebels ; and that a spirit of mutiny and disobedience to orders, appeared amongst the military, who were dispirited by the successes of the rebels.

III. That numbers of disaffected persons were within the town, furnished with arms and ammunition, ready to assist the rebels, when they should begin the attack, and to fire at the garrison from the houses, whilst they should be engaged with the enemy in defence of the town.

To complete the dismay and distrust of the garrison, the North Cork militia, about half past ten, had deserted their post near the barrack, and marched to Duncannon, in which retreat they were joined by captain Cornock's yeomen infantry. On all these ac-



counts colonel Maxwell immediately abandoned the town, sending two gentlemen to notify the evacuation to the rebels, to prevent its being treated as if taken by storm, and began to retreat to the fort of Duncannon, twenty-three miles distant, in such confusion, that, if the rebels had pursued, which was strenuously advised by some of the leaders, nearly the whole must inevitably have been destroyed. A great many loyal inhabitants, ignorant of the intended evacuation, which was determined on and executed with the greatest precipitation, were left in the power of the rebels. Many of these crowded on board the vessels in the harbour, in order to take refuge in Britain; but as most of the vessels were manned by Romanists, few of them effected their purpose, the ships returning to the harbour when the town was taken possession of by the rebels, and re-landing the people. The insurgents took possession of Wexford without opposition, to which the licentious conduct of the king's troops in their flight, burning cabins, shooting peasants, and committing every species of outrage, sent many to join their standards.

The northern parts of the county of Wexford were, in the mean time, greatly agitated, as well as those of the south. As the judicious and liberal Mr Gordon, rector of Killeghny, in the diocese of Ferns, by his residence in that disturbed part of the country, possessed the most ample means of information, was even witness himself to several of those scenes which he relates; and is justly esteemed for the veracity, can-

dour, and impartiality of his details, we shall give his pathetic description of the distresses of the loyalists, in and about Gorey in that quarter, in his own words :—

“ The retreat already mentioned of the yeoman cavalry from Oulart, early on the morning of the 27th of May, to Gorey, was followed by great numbers of the people hastening to the town for protection, and carrying what they could of their effects with them ; many, however, through terror and precipitation, leaving all behind. As Gorey consisted only of one street with a number of lanes, was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North Cork militia, under lieutenant Swayne, and a number of yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, some of whom were armed only with pikes, to abandon the town, and retreat to Arklow, nine miles to the north, in the county of Wicklow, was at first resolved ; but afterwards to defend the town was determined, carts and waggons being drawn by way of ramparts, across the avenues and the street, the undisciplined men placed at the windows to fire on the approaching enemy, and the disciplined arranged about the centre of the town. In the evening arrived a reinforcement of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, an experienced and excellent officer ; but as accounts of devastations and murders, received in the course of the day, seemed to indicate the approach of an army of rebels, the apprehensions of whom were rendered far more terrible by the news of the North Cork militia slaughtered at Oulart, orders



were issued to abandon the town and retire to Arklow, at five o'clock on the following morning, the twenty-eighth of May.

“ The earl of Courtown who had resolved to defend Gorey, if possible, and who, for want of an adequate force, was obliged to abandon it, had embodied a troop of yeoman cavalry in October, of the year 1796, and had added to it a body of infantry, and a considerable number of supplementary men. In other parts of the country, where troops of this kind had been embodied, subscriptions had been raised, and a stock-purse formed, for the defraying a variety of extraordinary expences; but not a farthing was contributed by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Gorey to assist the earl, on whom was thrown the whole expence, and who exerted himself with an uncommon assiduity and activity. As he had performed much in the providing of a force to obviate or suppress rebellion, so his treatment of the common people, by his affable manners, had been always such as was best adapted to produce content in the lower classes, and prevent a proneness to insurrection. I consider myself as bound in strictness of justice to society, thus far to represent the conduct of this nobleman. Doubtless, the people in the neighbourhood of Gorey were the last and least violent of all in the county of Wexford, in rising against the established authority; and certainly the behaviour of the Stopford family in that neighbourhood, toward their inferiors,

had always been remarkably conciliating and humane.

“ As the order to retreat was very sudden, on account of the imagined rapid approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and flight, was the consequence ; the affrighted crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars and placing their families on them with precipitation, and escaping as speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children, accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I with my family was a part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town, by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, captain Rowan of the Antrim regiment ; and great part of the poorer fugitives retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges ; but the better sort after a little delay, were admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them ; but, instead of this, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and

burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms was shot by the guard. After our admission, our situation was not so comfortable as we might have expected, for no refreshment could be procured by money for men or horses, and the hearts of the inhabitants in general seemed quite hardened against us. But, for my own part, I found very humane treatment. After remaining some time in the street, my family were courteously invited by a lady, to whom we were totally unknown, a Mrs Hunte, into her house, where we were kindly refreshed with food and drink ; and a gentleman, Mr Joseph Alford, to whom we were equally unknown, coming accidentally where we were, insisted on our going to his house, three miles from Arklow, where we found a number of refugees, all of whom were treated with the most humane attention.

“Gorey, meantime, was in a singular predicament—abandoned by the loyalists, while the rest of the inhabitants in fear and dubious anxiety, remained closely shut within their houses, insomuch that all was in silence and solitude, except that an unprincipled female, frantic with joy at the flight of her imagined enemies, capered in an extraordinary manner in the street ; and that a pack of hounds belonging to the fugitive gentry, expressed their feelings on the occasion by a hideous and mournful yell ; and that six men who had been that morning, though unarmed, taken prisoners, shot through the body and left for dead in

the street, were writhing with pain---one of whom in particular, was lying against a wall, and, though unable to speak, threatened with his fist a protestant who had run back into the town for something which he had forgotten. The yeomen returned in a few hours to Gorey, but immediately retreated again to Arklow; and one of them, in riding through the former, met with a dangerous accident;---a quantity of gunpowder had been spilled on the pavement by the militia in their hasty retreat, which, by a spark struck by one of the horses shoes, blew up, and singed both horse and man in a frightful manner, without, however, any fatal effects. As the rebels had bent their march toward the southern parts, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence. Filled as it was with a variety of goods, great part of which had been carried thither for safety from the neighbouring parts, it presented a tempting object of depredation; but the pilfering of the lower class of the towns people was prevented by the better sort of Romanist inhabitants, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their protestant neighbours; and when a multitude of women had assembled at some distance to come and plunder the town, they dispersed in a fright on the receipt of false news that the Ancient-British Regiment of cavalry was approaching. At length John Hunter Gowan, Esq. a magistrate who had in a most meritorious and successful manner exerted himself many years in the apprehending and prosecuting of robbers, and had been partly rewarded for his services by a pension from government of £100 a year, collected a

body of men to garrison the town. On the thirtieth and thirty-first of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey on the twenty-eighth, resumed their station in it."

The insurgents having now taken possession of all the southern parts of the county, except Ross and Duncannon on the south western border, began to turn their attention towards the north also. For this purpose the rebel force was marched, on the thirty-first of May, to the Three Rocks, and there formed into three divisions, one under Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, (who had been liberated as soon as the royal forces evacuated Wexford,) and Father Philp Roche of Poulpearsey, destined to march against Ross, another under captain Doyle and captain Redmond of the Queen's County, nephew to father Edward Redmond, of Ferns, who, with father Kearns, accompanied this body to Vinegar Hill, destined to attack the beautiful little town of Bunclody, better known by the name of Newtown-barry, situate ten miles northward of Enniscorthy ; and the third division under the command of Anthony Perry, father Murphy of Ballycannow, and father Murphy of Boullavogue destined to march against Gorey.

Part of the division encamped on Vinegar-hill, about five thousand men, moved to the attack of Newtown-barry early on the morning of the first of June. The



garrison consisted of two hundred and thirty of the King's county militia, with two battalion guns, commanded by colonel L'Estrange; eighty yeoman infantry, sixty Newtown-barry cavalry, under captain Kerr, twenty of the fourth dragoons and Carlow cavalry, under captain Cornwall, besides volunteers, in all about five hundred men. The rebels advanced in two columns; one on each side of the Slaney; intelligence of which was conveyed to the garrison by a reconnoitring party under captain Kerr. The town is built on the west side of the Slaney. Among the leaders of the enemy was Father Kearns, a man of gigantic stature, and of undaunted courage and ferocity. The attack was begun by a heavy fire on the town from a brass six pounder, a howitzer, and some swivel guns. According to the common practice of the military officers entrusted with the defence of the kingdom of Ireland, whether proceeding from want of courage or knowledge of their profession, it is not for us to determine, colonel L'Estrange abandoned the town with his troops; and would have left it, an easy prey to the rebels, defended only by a few loyalists, had not lieutenant-colonel Westner at length prevailed on him to march back again for its defence. The rebels, meantime, by no means suspicious of the return of the troops, had rushed in confusion into the town, intent upon plunder and devastation. The attack of the colonel's men was consequently effective, especially as he was preceded by the two pieces of cannon. The rebels were routed with the slaughter of two hundred men; while only two of the loyalists were killed. Had the rebels suc-

ceeded in this enterprise, a communication would have been opened between them and their brethren in the county of Carlow.

Not till after the engagement was concluded, a reinforcement arrived from Clonnegall, two miles and a half distant, under command of lieutenant Young, of the Donegal militia, who had been ordered to march immediately to Newtown-barry ; but who had thought proper to delay two hours in the execution of four suspicious persons, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of many most respectable inhabitants, and of lieutenant Holmes Justice, an officer of the North Cork, who believed the sufferers to be innocent. Even after this heroic executioner, whose superior discernment could thus detect and punish guilt, though perhaps she had not betrayed herself by a look, word, action, or even thought, did set out, he chose a circuitous route, upwards of double the distance of the straight road ; which brought upon him the *ill-natured* reflections of many persons, doubtless eminently deficient in that *prudence* so necessary in *hazardous* cases, that the lieutenant was neither ambitious of sharing in the honour of a victory, nor willing to risk his person amidst the disastrous consequences of a defeat. To such evil-minded persons this redoubtable lieutenant might have replied in the words of Fingal to his celebrated son, Ossian,

“ Never seek the battle, nor shun it when it comes.”

This *gentleman*, moreover, distinguished himself by a super-abundant care of the soldiery under his command; having, on his arrival at Clonnegall, not only insisted that his men should be comfortably situated in every other respect, but that they should be accommodated with *feather beds*, for which purpose several loyal persons were turned out of their own beds by his orders! To the remonstrances of other officers, not so skilful in the exercise of authority as himself, he used courageously to reply, “*I am commanding officer, and damn the croppies.*” After his departure to Newtown-barry, this gentleman never returned to Clonnegall, in consequence of which the town remained under the command of that truly respectable officer, lieutenant Justice, who preserved so strict an attention to discipline, that, though Clonnegall is in the immediate vicinity of Carnew, it was defended with such intrepidity as never to fall into the hands of the enemy. In the action at Newtown-barry, two cart loads of ammunition, &c. were taken.

“Hills of a commanding prospect were always chosen by the rebels for their stations or posts. These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs; and the people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without other covering than the clothes which they wore in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather, to such a length of time as



is very unusual in Ireland in that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of Providence in their favour; and some among them are said to have declared, in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand, the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour of Heaven, since bad weather must have miserably augmented their distress, and have caused many to perish. In these encampments or stations, among such crowds of riotous undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorder must be supposed to have prevailed. Often when a rebel was in a sound sleep in the night, he was robbed by some associate of his gun, or some other article at that time valuable: to sleep flat on the belly, with the hat and shoes tied under the breast, for the prevention of stealth, was a custom with many. They were in nothing more irregular than in the cooking of provisions, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to flay them, and roasting those pieces on the points of their pikes, together with the parts of the hide which belonged to them. The heads of the cattle were seldom eaten, but generally left to rot on the surface of the ground; and so were often large parts of the carcasses, after many pieces had been cut from them: which practice might in a short time have caused a pestilence.

“The station which the rebels chose, when they bent their force towards Gorey, was the hill of Corrigrua,

seven miles towards the south-west from that town. A body of above a thousand, some say four thousand, detached from this post, took possession of the little village of Ballycannow, four miles from Gorey, to the south, on the evening of the first of June, and were advancing to fix their station on the hill of Ballymannan, mid-way between the above-named village and town, when they were met near the village by the garrison of Gorey, who had marched to stop their progress. Having returned home the preceding day with my family from Arklow, I happened to be at that time on the road near Gorey, when a man on the top of a house cried out to me that all the country to the south was in a blaze; for straggling parties of the rebels attending the motions of the main body, had as usual set fire to many houses. I had hardly got a view of the conflagration, when I heard a discharge of musketry, which continued some time without intermission. Since I have learned the particulars of this engagement, I consider it, though small and unnoticed, as one of the most brilliant of the croppy war.

“The little army which had marched from Gorey on this occasion, consisted of twenty of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, who directed the movements of the whole; twenty of the North-Cork; about fifty yeoman infantry, including supplementary men; and three troops of yeoman cavalry, the last of whom, I mean all the cavalry, were useless in battle. As the rebels had not procured accurate intelligence, and as troops from Dublin had been some days ex-

pected, the cloud of dust, excited by the little army of Gorey, caused them to imagine that a formidable force was coming against them. Under this persuasion, they disposed not themselves to the best advantage, for they might easily have surrounded and destroyed the little band opposed to them. They attempted it however in a disorderly manner; but so regular and steady a fire was maintained by the militia, particularly the Antrim, that the half-disciplined supplementals of the yeomen, encouraged thereby, behaved with equal steadiness; and such was the effect, that the rebels were totally routed, and fled in the utmost confusion in all directions. The yeomen cavalry, notwithstanding repeated orders from lieutenant Elliot, delayed too long, through mistake of one of their officers, to pursue the runaways, otherwise a great slaughter might have been made. The victorious band advancing, fired some houses in Ballycannon, and spread such a terror, that no attempt was made against them from the post of Corrigrua; so that they returned safely to Gorey, with above a hundred captive horses and other spoil.

“ In this engagement, and all others in the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their guns too much for execution, so that only three loyalists were wounded, none killed. The number of slain on the opposite side was probably about sixty, perhaps near a hundred. Many fine horses, which the routed party was obliged to leave behind, were by them killed or maimed, that they might be rendered useless. The

hardiness and agility of the labouring classes of the Irish were on this, and other occasions in the course of the rebellion, very remarkable. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over brooks and ditches, were such that they could not always in crossing the fields be overtaken by horsemen; and with so much strength of constitution were they found to be endued, that to kill them was difficult, many, after a multitude of stabs, not expiring till their necks were cut across. In fact, the number of persons who in the various battles, massacres, and skirmishes of this war, were shot through the body, and recovered of their wounds, has greatly surprised me. A small occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time:—Two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety.

“ Disappointed by the defeat at Ballycannow, of taking post on Ballymanaan-hill on the first of June, and of advancing thence to Gorey on the second, the

rebel army on Corrigrua-hill remained in that station till the fourth. Meantime the long and anxiously expected army under major-general Loftus arrived in Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, insomuch that not a doubt was entertained of the immediate and total dispersion of the rebels. The plan was to march the army in two divisions, by two different roads, to the post of Corrigrua, and to attack the enemy with combined forces, in which attack they expected the co-operation of some other troops. But while this arrangement was made, on the fourth of June, by the army, the rebels were preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey; for by a letter from Gorey to a priest named Philip Roche, then in bed in the house of Richard Donovan, esq. of Ballymore, at the foot of the above-mentioned hill, information was received by the rebel chiefs, about one o'clock in the morning, of the intended motions of the army. The publicity of the adopted plan of operations, by which the disaffected in the town were enabled to give this information to the enemy, was probably occasioned by the imprudence of colonel Walpole, who claimed an independent and discretionary command. Intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was carried to the army with the most eager dispatch, by a respectable farmer called Thomas Dowling, who made application to several officers, all of whom despised his information, and some threatened him with imprisonment if he should not cease his *nonsense*.—The army began its march in



two divisions, according to the above plan, about the same time that the rebels began theirs in one body. The latter were met nearly mid-way between Gorey and Corrigrua by the division under colonel Walpole—a gentleman much more fit for the place of a courier than that of a military leader. As no scouts nor flanking parties were employed by this commander, he knew nothing of the approach of the enemy until he actually saw them, at the distance of a few yards, advancing on him in a place called Tubberneering. Walpole seems not to have been deficient in courage. The action commenced in a confused manner. The rebels poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and he received a ball through the head in a few minutes. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by a fire of guns from some of the houses, where some rebels had taken their station. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, who a few minutes before had thought themselves perfectly secure, fled, as many as could escape, to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

“ While Walpole’s division was engaged with the enemy, general Loftus, marching by a different road, that of Ballycannow, and hearing the noise of battle, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, across the fields to its assistance. This



body was intercepted by the rebels, who were in pursuit of the routed army, and almost all killed or taken; and as near forty men of Walpole's division were lost, the detriment on the whole amount was considerable. Meanwhile the general, ignorant of the colonel's fate, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, and coming round by a long circuit to the field of battle, was at last made acquainted with the event. He then followed the march of the rebels towards Gorey, and coming within view of them, found them posted on Gorey-hill, a commanding eminence, at the foot of which the town is built. Convinced that he could neither attack them in their post with any prospect of success, nor pass by them into the town without great hazard, he retreated to Carnew, and in his retreat was saluted with a fire of the artillery of the rebels from the top of the hill, whither they had, by strength of men, drawn the cannon taken from Walpole's troops, beside some pieces brought from Wexford. Thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though the gentlemen of that neighbourhood thought, and still think, quite otherwise, as he was there at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow."

Had the insurgents followed up this signal advantage, and proceeded immediately to Arklow and Wicklow, those towns must inevitably have yielded to

their victorious arms; and thus they would have opened a passage to the metropolis:—But instead of acting on this occasion with that celerity so necessary in their then posture of affairs, they lost five days in the plunder of Gorey and its vicinity, destroying at the same time the church, and the two elegant seats of Messrs Rams at Clonaltin and Ramsfort.



## C H A P. VIII.

THE body of rebels under Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, destined to attack Ross, who had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill, were in the meantime acquiring a great increase of numbers. They continued in their encampment four days, during which period parties were dispatched throughout the adjacent country to bring in loyalists, who were tried by a court-martial. Several of these were executed on the first of June. Others were imprisoned in the house and barn of Mr King of Scullabogue under Carrickbyrne-hill.

On the fourth of June, Harvey moved to Corbet-hill, one mile from Ross, which he was determined to attack with his whole force on the following morning, leaving at Carrickbyrne a strong guard of three hundred men, under Father John Murphy. The rebel force amounted to about twenty thousand men. The garrison, consisting of about twelve hundred effective men, commanded by general Johnson, together with one hundred and fifty yeomen, continued under arms all night. About four in the morning, Bagenal Har-

vey, confident of success, but at the same time eager to save the effusion of blood, sent a Mr Furlong with a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender. This gentleman was most imprudently shot ; a practice, amongst many others *equally* laudable, too common with the military officers during the rebellion. This, of all their actions, however, was certainly the most culpable. Without entering into any discussion on the *right* or *wrong* principles by which the leaders of rebellion were induced to take arms against the government, certainly there can be no impropriety in saying that persons sent with proposals from them ought to have been held sacred. Loyalists, who had the misfortune to be taken by the rebels, and compelled to accompany them, were deterred from attempting to escape to any royal troops, which they might often have done, lest they should be mistaken for rebel messengers, and put to death before they could make themselves known. For the same reason such rebels as might be inclined to return to their allegiance were withheld from taking a step so salutary. Besides, might not a whole body of insurgents by communications of this kind have offered to lay down their arms ? The rebels, also, treated in this manner, must have been rendered doubly ferocious, and considering themselves as devoted to destruction should they fail in their enterprise, be driven by desperation to retaliate with signal vengeance on the unhappy loyalists who were so unfortunate as to fall into their possession. On the person of Furlong was found the summons, which was couched as follows :

*Summons to the Commander of the Garrison of Ross.*

“ Sir,—As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controuled if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

I am, Sir,

B. B. HARVEY,

General, commanding, &c. &c.

Camp at Corbet-hill, half }  
past three o'clock, morn- }  
ing, June 5, 1793. }

Harvey had formed a plan for the attack on three parts of the town at once, which in all probability would have succeeded if put in execution. After dispatching Furlong with the summons, however, while he was busily employed in arranging the troops for the assault, a very galling fire was kept up by the outposts of the garrison. To disperse the troops who gave this annoyance, he ordered one Kelly, a young man of the most intrepid courage, to put himself at the head of five hundred men and attack them. In pursuance

of this order, which he executed with precision, he was followed in a confused manner by many more of the insurgents than he had occasion for. These, instead of returning to the main body after driving in the outposts, as they had been ordered, elated with success, rushed with impetuosity into the town, drove back the cavalry upon the infantry, and seemed to have been for some time complete masters of it, into which, following the successful career of their companions, crowds from the hill entered with tremendous shouts. From an idea that the victory was already decisive in favour of the rebels, several officers of the garrison immediately retreated to Waterford. The rebels were prevented from penetrating into the centre of the town by the Dublin and Donegal militia, stationed at the market-house and a place called Fairgate, where they firmly maintained their posts; while general Johnson and a merchant named M'Cormick, a man of lofty stature and great courage, distinguished during the whole action in the hottest parts of the engagement by a brazen helmet, and who had served some time in the army, were labouring with the utmost assiduity to rally and animate the discomfited troops, who had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side. They were again brought back to action, when a most desperate engagement was maintained, with the greatest resolution on both sides, for ten hours. The rebels had already fired a number of houses, as at Enniscorthy, and were pushing with vigour for the bridge. General Johnson on this planted several guns at the lanes leading from Church-lane and Neville-street, and one at the old



market-place where he for some time stationed himself. These did dreadful execution. Whole ranks were mowed down at once; but such was the resolution of the assailants that fresh men constantly presented themselves with renovated ardour, filling up the gaps, and seemingly, by approaching within a few yards of the guns, courting the fate they met with. One man in particular, with an undaunted courage perhaps never equalled, rushed forward, clapped his hand upon a cannon, and stuffing into her his hat and wig, as far as his arm could reach, called out to his associates, "Blood-and-ounds! come on boys! her mouth is "stopt." At that instant the gunner applied the match, when this illiterate and unfortunate hero was blown to atoms. Thrice were the rebels driven to the outskirts of the town with dreadful slaughter, and as often, rallied by their leaders, were they brought back again, recovering some ground each time. At length, however, they were repulsed, after the most obstinate and bloody battle during the course of the croppy war. The loss of the rebels exceeded one thousand men. That of the military was about two hundred, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the county of Dublin militia, and cornet Ladwell of the 5th dragoons. General Johnson had two horses killed under him. The rebels left fourteen swivel guns and four cannon on ship carriages behind them, which were taken by the royal army.

Besides the irregular manner in which this attack was made (Harvey's plan being totally neglected), per-

haps not above five thousand of the rebels descended from Corbet-hill to share in the action; and many, as soon as the engagement commenced, fled home, and gave exulting accounts of the success of the day, which they fancied was inevitable. An artillery-man, a prisoner, who had been attached to one of the rebel cannons, was ordered to level her, and threatened with death should he not do properly what they termed his duty. He aimed too high, which, whether he acted, in such a situation, properly or not, was instantly rewarded with death. The following account, though considerably exaggerated, given by a military man, of the battle, we insert, as it contains a pretty adequate idea of the general tumult and horror of the scene.

“ The advanced rebels drove before them a number of cattle, to throw our army into confusion, which was in some measure prevented, by a few discharges of grape-shot. The action commenced by the 4th flank battalion; indeed such a close well-directed fire I never saw, being an idle spectator for upwards of two hours and a half. About seven o’clock the army began to retreat in every direction. I commanded a six-pounder field-piece. The rebels came pouring into the town like a flood, and human blood began to flow down the streets. Though hundreds were blown to pieces by our grape-shot, yet thousands behind them, being intoxicated with drinking during the night, and void of fear, rushed upon us, as if courting their fate. The cavalry were now ordered to make a charge through them, when a terrible carnage ensued; they were cut down like

grass ; but the pikemen being called to the front, and our swords being too short to reach them, obliged our horse to retreat, which put us in some confusion. We kept up the action till about half past eight ; which was maintained with such obstinacy on both sides, that it was doubtful who would keep the field. They then began to burn and destroy the town, it was on fire in many places in about fifteen minutes. By this time the rebels advanced as far as the main-guard, where there was a most bloody conflict, with the assistance of two ship guns placed in the street, they killed a great number of them, and beat them back for some time. The Dublin county regiment, headed by their colonel, made another attack on the rebels ; the action being now revived in all quarters of the town with double fury, many heroes fell, and among them the brave Mountjoy, which so exasperated his regiment, that they fought like furies—now indeed was the scene bloody. Our forces the third time being overpowered, by the weight of such a body pouring down upon us, we retreated beyond the bridge, when General Johnson came galloping up crying “ soldiers, I will lay my bones this day in Ross, will you let me lie alone ? ”

“ Major Vesey, of the Dublin county, the next in command to Lord Mountjoy, led his men over the bridge again, exhorting them to revenge, for the loss of their colonel. The whole brigade (except some who fled to Waterford) being led on by general Johnson, (as brave a commander as ever drew a sword,) were de-

terminated to take the town, to conquer or to die. Again we opened a tremendous fire on the rebels, which was as fiercely returned. We re-took the cannon which was taken from the king's forces in a former engagement, and turned them on the rebels. The gun I commanded being called to the main-guard, shocking was it to see the dreadful carnage that was there, it continued for half an hour, it was obstinate and bloody the thundering of cannon shook the town, the windows were shivered in pieces with the dreadful concussion ; I believe there were five hundred bodies lying in the main-street. The rebels were so desperate that they frequently came within a few yards of our guns.

“ The action was doubtful from four in the morning, till four in the afternoon, when the rebels gave way in every quarter, and shortly after fled precipitately in every direction, leaving behind them all their cannon, baggage, provisions, wine, whiskey, brandy, &c. It was past five before we finally routed them ; when they made the best of their way to Carrickbyrne. As nearly as can be computed, the rebels had two thousand six hundred killed, and a great number wounded, and a great number mortally. I know soldiers who fired one hundred and twenty rounds of ball-cartridge, and I fired twenty-one rounds of cannister-shot, with the field-piece I commanded.”

On the morning after the engagement the town presented a most hideous spectacle. Upwards of four

hundred houses were consumed, and a multitude of dead bodies were lying in the streets. The greater part of these were thrown into a gravel pit and covered over, or precipitated into the river, where they were carried off by the tide.

Had the insurgents succeeded in obtaining possession of Ross, the whole province of Munster would have risen in rebellion, as messengers were ready to be dispatched from Waterford, to summon the people of the south to appear in arms.

Early in the morning of the fifth of June, one of the rebels, who had in a cowardly manner fled from the battle of Ross, came galloping to Scullabogue, where the protestant prisoners, as already observed, were confined; and declaring that the garrison of Ross were massacring the catholics, feigned an order from general Harvey to put the loyalists to death. As John Murphy, who commanded the guard, wished to save the prisoners, he strenuously declared that not a man of them should be touched without written orders from the general himself. About an hour afterwards, another rebel arrived, exclaiming "Our friends are all destroyed at Ross!—Murder the prisoners!" Still Murphy would not suffer them to be injured. About ten o'clock, however, a third arrived; saying, "The priest has sent orders to put all the prisoners to death." On this the guard immediately stripped off their coats, considering it impiety to delay a moment in executing the sacerdotal mandate. After the



usual ceremony of crossing and blessing themselves before executions, they parted into two divisions, one proceeding to the barn, into which one hundred and eighty-four persons had been crammed, the other to Mr King's house, where were confined thirty-seven persons, who were shot or killed by pikes before the hall door. The execrable scene which took place at the barn was horrible beyond description, and is a melancholy example of the pernicious effects of religious bigotry, and an intolerant spirit on the human mind. The executioners having mounted the walls of the barn by ladders, and having set fire to the thatched roof, the miserable prisoners rushed to the back door, which their united weight burst open. Here, however, they were received by the rebels, who pushed them again into the flames with their pikes, discharged their pieces amongst them, and introduced at the same time bundles of lighted straw. One unfortunate woman, widow to a North-Cork militia-man who had been slain at Oulart, having her child in her arms, with all the wretchedness and anxiety of a mother, wrapped it in her cloak and threw it among the rebels, in the vain hope that they would respect its tender age. An inhuman monster stuck it on his pike, and with a diabolical execration, tossed it into the fire. Another child by some means had crept out of the barn, and hiding along the wall behind the door, lay there concealed till the massacre was completed : when at length, fatally discovered, it was pierced through the body, and expired in convulsions. Twenty women and children in all were inclosed in the barn : in



which there were also fifteen Romanists, one of whom was father Shallow's clerk. On the ninth of June the skeletons were cleared out of the barn, thrown into a hole, and slightly covered with sods.

After the defeat at Ross, Bagenal Harvey re-occupied, on the same night, his former station on Carrickbyrne, in the greatest distress and anxiety of mind. On the morning of the sixth, this humane leader was shocked by intelligence of the massacre at Scullabogue, and of the other atrocious actions of the rebels. To put a stop if possible to those iniquitous proceedings, he immediately issued the following severe proclamation:—

*General Orders issued in consequence of the Defeat at Ross, and the Massacre at Scullabogue.*

At a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following resolutions were agreed upon:—

“Resolved, that the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons found

to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

“ Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not to depart therefrom under pain of death; unless authorised to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

“ It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement; and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding such engagement.

“ All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

“ It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters, when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death; unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

“ It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head-quarters; otherwise for any horse

that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, that person shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death :—

“ And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

“ It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, Commander in chief,  
FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

Head-quarters, Carrickburn camp,

June 6, 1798.

With the same laudable intention was also issued the following proclamation :—

*To the People of Ireland.*

“ Countrymen and fellow-soldiers !

“ Your patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head : thousands daily flock to her standard : the

voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery.

“ Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

“ At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders: but what power can resist men fighting for liberty!

“ In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty. Many of those unfortunate men in prison were not your enemies from principle: most of them compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you: neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish house of lords of the 19th of February last: you will there see a patriotic and enlightened protestant bishop, with manly eloquence, pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chan-

cellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow-courtiers.

“ To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object: we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

“ To my protestant soldiers, I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

“ EDWARD ROCHE.”

Wexford, June 7th, 1798.

These proclamations had not the desired effect; and Harvey appears consequently to have sunk into a state of horror and dejection. The following letter, in answer to a request from Mr Francis Glascott, for his protection, will best shew the state of this unfortunate gentleman's mind, who had resigned a command which was nothing more than nominal, and afterwards retiring to Wexford, was appointed president of the council, which consisted of a few leading members of the lately-erected republic, entrusted with the regulation of its affairs:

“ Dear Sir,

“ I received your letter; but what to do for you I know not. I from my heart wish to protect all pro-

perty; I can scarce protect myself; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good, and preventing mischief; my trust is in Providence: I acted always an honest disinterested part; and had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again, I will immediately. Mr Tottenham's refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate: it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them. The person I sent in had private instructions to propose a reconciliation; but God knows where this business will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

“ I am, with respect, yours, &c.

*June 8, 1798.*

“ B. B. HARVEY.”

On the ninth of June, the rebel camp was removed from Carrickbyrne to Slyeeve-keelter, a hill which rises over the river of Ross, formed by the junction of the rivers Nore and Barrow. They seem to have taken this post with a view of intercepting the navigation of the channel between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannon-fort, in which they partly succeeded; for though they were repulsed in their attempts to take some gun-boats, yet they compelled several small vessels to surrender; in one of which was a mail, the letters and



newspapers in which contained much intelligence concerning the state of the rest of the kingdom. At Syleeve-keelter, father Philip Roche, who had been a leader at the battle of Tubberneering, was tumultuously elected commander in chief, in the place of Bagenal Harvey. Under their new commander, the rebel army again moved, and occupied the hill of Lacken, where they formed their encampment with much more regularity than usual, and erected a number of tents for the accommodation of the officers. A detachment was sent from hence, on the twelfth, to attack the town of Borris, in the county of Carlow, twelve miles distant, for the purpose of procuring arms and ammunition, but was repulsed by the garrison with the loss of about twenty men. The garrison, who had posted themselves in the house of Mr Cavenagh, had only one killed. The town was partly burned.



## C H A P. IX.

**DURING** the five days the rebels were encamped on Gorey-hill, a number of atrocities were committed. They then began to think they had wasted too much time, knowing that if they could gain Arklow, it would open a communication with the Wicklow and Kildare rebels, and that an attack might be made on the metropolis soon after; they therefore resolved to try their strength on that town, for which purpose messengers were sent to the different encampments at Wexford and Vinegar-hill, ordering all persons to repair to the camp at Gorey-hill immediately.

On the eighth of June, the rebel picquet saw a party of the king's army reconnoitering at Coolgreny, and instantly returned with information that the king's troops were advancing against the town. In consequence of this, the prisoners, twenty-one in number, were ordered to be murdered; but Bagenal Harvey's proclamation arrived in time to save their lives.

Early in the morning of the ninth of June, the rebel camp was crowded from all quarters, and masses were celebrated. As they were not allowed to murder the prisoners, they made caps of brown paper and coarse linen, melted pitch and besmeared the inside of them, and put them on the prisoner's heads.

About twelve o'clock the rebels, to the number of twenty-six thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, with three pieces of artillery, marched for Arklow, under the command of Anthony Perry, who had appointed Esmond Kyan captain of the artillery. When they had arrived within two miles of Arklow, they were ordered to halt by one of their officers. Those who were armed with guns, were ordered to the front, and the pikemen were placed in the rear. These arrangements being made, and the plan of attack agreed upon, they were ordered to advance; but they evinced the most disorderly disposition imaginable; for their officers were obliged to drive them on before them, and in this manner they proceeded towards Arklow.

If the rebels had made their appearance two days before, they would, in all probability, have carried the town; but fortunately the garrison was reinforced that morning by the Durham fencibles, a brave and well-disciplined regiment, which strengthened it, and quieted the fears of the inhabitants.

garrison, was quartered at the house of Mr O'Neill in Arklow, where he had ordered a great breakfast for him and his guests. Two officers belonging to the Durham regiment happened to be passing by the house, and were mistaken by a servant, and informed that breakfast was ready for them and their associates. This intelligence being communicated, the Durham officers immediately repaired to the house and devoured the whole breakfast. Captain Wallington remaining behind the rest, assembled about him the drivers of the carriages in which the regiment had travelled from Dublin, to pay them their dues. The general at length arrived with his guests, and was astonished when he found his lodgings occupied with a crowd of wrangling coachmen; but soon being informed of the fate of his breakfast, he burst into a rage and drove out the intruders with such fury, that they, with their paymaster, tumbled one over another in the street, in their haste to escape.

The garrison then consisted of detachments of the fourth and fifth dragoon guards; the Ancient British fencible cavalry; a small detachment of the Royal Irish artillery; the Durham fencible infantry; the Cavan battalion; detachments of the Armagh, Antrim, North-Cork, and Londonderry militia; the North and South Arklow cavalry; the Camolin, Gorey, Coolgreney, and Castletown cavalry; and a number of loyalists in coloured clothes, making in the whole upwards of fifteen hundred men.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, information was received that the rebels were advancing towards the town. The drums immediately beat to arms, and the troops repaired to their different stations, and every preparation was made to meet the enemy.

The Cavan battalion, with some yeomen infantry, under colonel Maxwell, extended from the centre of the town to the Fishery; on the left was the sea; on the right the Durham regiment was drawn in front of their encampment, with two field pieces; detachments of the Armagh and others were placed on the right of the Durham; and the Antrim with other detachments and all the loyalists were stationed in the barrack. The cavalry were placed beyond the bridge, on the Dublin road.

The rebels endeavoured to surround the army, and by that means to have overpowered it by their great superiority of numbers; but the excellent disposition of the king's forces, sufficiently convinced them of the impracticability of that measure. When they had advanced as far as the charter school, captain Elliot, who was posted there, retreated into the town, on which the rebels drew their cannon to the right, on an eminence that commands the town. The Dunbarton fencibles were then ordered out in front of the Armagh, to line the hedges on each side of the road, where the rebels were advancing. A smart fire was maintained between the Dunbartons and the rebels for some time, when the former were ordered to retreat and join the

Armagh, which they accomplished. The rebels then set fire to different parts of the town, to annoy the army with the smoke ; but the wind shifted and drove it on themselves. On the retreat being sounded, the rebels pursued, and sent forth most dreadful yells, and one of their officers, waving his hat, called out, " Come on, my boys, the town is our own." At that instant his horse was shot and himself wounded, on which he fell as if killed. A short time after he was observed by some of the soldiers and shot dead. The rebels followed him, but on receiving a well-directed fire of musketry and grape-shot, they fell back a considerable distance. They then extended a long line in front of the Durham regiment, but in a confused manner, endeavouring to turn their left flank ; but the Durhams keeping up a constant and well-directed fire,, they were unable to accomplish it. Some of the rebels, armed with muskets, getting behind hedges, annoyed the army considerably, and their artillery also played briskly on the town ; but sergcent Shepherd of the Royal Irish artillery, who was taken prisoner at the Three-rocks and compelled to serve in the rebel army, elevated their guns so high that the balls fell on the other side of the town. At one time he loaded with grape-shot, and turning the gun a little on one side, killed and wounded several of the rebels. One of their officers observing this, galloped up and would have instantly killed Shepherd, had not Kyau, the captain of artillery, interposed and insisted that it was the cannon of the king's army which did the execution. He was then ordered to load with ball and



batter the town; but at every opportunity he loaded with grape-shot, knowing it could do no injury. Two of the rebel officers then rode towards the town, to observe the execution of the cannon, and finding that Shepherd was not favouring their cause, returned and informed Kyan of it, on which he levelled the cannon himself, and one of them with such fatal precision, that the ball struck the carriage of one of the Durham field-pieces, shivered it to atoms, and killed four men: another ball struck the top of a house in the town and did some damage. All this time the royal army was playing upon them with good effect, having killed and wounded a considerable number.

Another body of the rebels made an attempt to gain the lower end of the town, and advanced by the sea side; but in that quarter they were received with great spirit by the Ancient British fencible cavalry, under Sir W. W. Wynne, who made a most desperate and successful charge upon them. They then proceeded in great force to a road that led to the middle of the town, and made a desperate effort to enter it in that direction; but a sergeant and twelve men who were stationed in the market-house, kept up so constant and effectual a fire that they were obliged to fall back with the loss of many men. A body of them also attempted to ford the river, but this pass was well defended, and they were obliged to relinquish it.

Father Murphy, of Ballycannow, was not in the beginning of the action, having stopped at Coolgreeny.

When he was coming to the attack, he met a number of rebels retreating: driving them back again to the battle, he assured them that he could defeat the king's army even with the dust of the road. When he came into the engagement, he shewed the rebels some musket balls, which he said he had caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. Father Murphy, however, after many escapes, fell himself by a cannon shot, his bowels having been torn out, whilst waving a standard in his hand, and encouraging his men to press forward. The rebels who followed him, immediately retreated in great haste from that quarter, exclaiming as they went along "that the " priest himself was down!"

The hottest part of the action was maintained by the Durham fencibles, commanded by colonel Skerret, to whose determined bravery the country is indebted for this victory. Colonel Maxwell and the Cavan battalion also acted in a most spirited manner, as did also the whole army engaged on that occasion.

The action commenced about four o'clock and continued till half past eight, when they retreated in confusion to Gorey. It was not thought prudent to pursue the retreating rebels, as it was then the close of the evening, otherwise it is most probable that a great slaughter must have ensued. The military stood under arms till four o'clock next morning, when they cast entrenchments round the camp, and remained in full expectation of another attack.

The loss of the Durham regiment was about twenty privates killed and wounded : that of the other regiments was very trifling, though they had been warmly engaged for a considerable time.

In this important action, the principal attempts of the enemy were directed against the Durham regiment ; and it was to the excellent discipline and steady valour of that fine body of men on that day, aided by the magnanimous conduct and military skill of their commander, colonel Skerret, that the British government was indebted for the suppression of the rebellion in that quarter. General Needham had wisely given discretionary authority to colonel Skerret to act with his regiment according to the dictates of his own judgment. Intimidated by the formidable attacks of the rebels, the general, at one period of the action, resolved on a retreat, which he would accordingly have put in practice, had not the colonel, when addressed on that subject, made the following noble reply : “ We cannot hope for victory otherwise than by preserving our ranks ; if we break all is lost ; and from the spirit which I have seen displayed at this awful crisis by the Durham regiment, I can never bear the idea of its giving ground.” Shortly after the retreat of the rebels commenced, the body of father Murphy being found, lord Mountnorris ordered the head to be struck off, and the trunk to be thrown into a burning house, exclaiming, “ *Let his body go where his soul is !*” It is an unequivocal proof that ferocity was not confined to the rebels, but displayed itself indis-

criminatingly in the acts of them and the loyalists, that after the head of Murphy was struck off, several of the Ancient British fencibles cut open his body and took out his heart. Afterwards, while the body lay roasting on a burning beam of timber, these very men received the dripping fat and greased their boots with it! Captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, was not ashamed to avow in the presence of several most respectable persons, that he had been concerned in this most scandalous act of brutality, and that he had assisted to break open the breast with an axe and to cut out the heart! At the time when father Murphy's body was found, the following journal, supposed to have been written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy of Boulavogue, as aid-de-camp, was also discovered:—

*Father John Murphy's journal; found by Captain Hugh Moore.*

Saturday night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1793.

“Began the republic of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and parish of Kilcormuck, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

“From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republic attacked a minister's

house for arms, and was denied of, laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the same day burned his house and all the orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

“ The same day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republic on Oulart-hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twelve men, and the republic four killed; and then went to a hill called Cōrrigrua, where the republic encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and the *sate* of a bishop\*. At three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men, then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

BRYAN BULGER,

DARBY MURPHY, his hand and  
pen, dated this 26th day of

---

\* It alludes to the seat of the bishop of Ferns.

“Orange men are men that formed alliance to kill and destroy all the catholics of this kingdom.

“GARET LACEY.”

“28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitsun-Monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night called the Mountain.”





## CHAP. X.

VINEGAR Hill, the scene of so much slaughter, had been in the possession of the rebels above three weeks, during which time the loyalists of Enniscorthy and the surrounding country had been in a state of almost indescribable horror. They were every where seized; a few were butchered on the spot where they happened to fall into the hands of the rebels; but the greater number were carried to the camp on the hill; where upwards of four hundred received sentence by court-martial, and were either shot or destroyed by pikes. Some, after having been apparently killed, recovered strength sufficient to endeavour to escape; but these for the most part fell again into the hands of the rebels, and received the completion of their sufferings. The wonderful preservation of one man, however, Charles Davis, of Enniscorthy, glazier, appears to be particularly worthy of notice. This man, when the town was taken by the insurgents, justly apprehensive that no mercy would be shewn him as a loyalist, had concealed himself in a privy, where he

remained some days without any other food than the body of a cock, which had accidentally perched on the seat. Impelled by the cravings of nature, however, when his provisions were exhausted, and disgusted with his loathsome abode, he at length ventured from his place of concealment, and endeavoured to escape. He was seized near the town, conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and received the sentence of a court-martial. Being led out to suffer death pursuant to his sentence, he was shot through the body and also through one of the arms. As these wounds were not deemed sufficient to extinguish life, he received several severe thrusts from a pike on the head, without injuring the brain; and was then thrown into a hole upon his back, and covered over with earth and stones. Thus consigned to an untimely grave, the unfortunate man remained twelve hours in a state of insensibility, during which period his dog, a faithful animal that never left him, had scraped the covering off his face, and licked it clean from the filth and blood. Superstition—baleful superstition, which, maddened by fanaticism, conjointly with political animosity, had caused so many ruthless scenes of bloodshed and desolation in this unhappy country, was the means of saving this man's existence. He returned to life, his mind disordered by his sufferings, and dreaming that he was about to be murdered by pikemen, pronouncing emphatically the name of father Roche, by whose means he hoped to obtain a protection. Accidentally overheard by some catholics to pronounce that sacred name, they believed him to have been revived by

the particular favour of heaven, that by being made a catholic by Roche, his soul might be saved from those eternal pains which they believed he would otherwise be condemned to endure. Thus impressed, they had him conveyed to a house and treated with such kindness and humanity, that he rapidly recovered, and at length apparently regained his perfect health. This instance of astonishing strength of constitution was by no means singular during the course of the rebellion. The surprising recoveries of many of the Irish peasantry, and the difficulty that was almost invariably found of putting an end to the being even of very old men, may be worthy of an inquiry no less curious than interesting.

At length, however, lieutenant-general Lake, commander in chief of the royal forces, made dispositions to expel the rebels from this hill (as we have already mentioned) which was so strongly fortified that the insurgents considered it impregnable. The troops destined to attack it amounted in all to upwards of thirteen thousand effective men, together with a formidable train of artillery, and were arranged in columns under several generals, with orders to attack the hill on all points at once, so as to prevent the escape of the rebels: a plan of attack which, if it had been completely executed, would in all probability have been attended either with the complete surrender of the enemy, or with such a slaughter as to have effectually disabled them from again taking the field. But this well-concerted attack was unfortunately frus-

trated by the delay of general Needham, who arrived not at his post till after the engagement, a circumstance which, together with several others of a like nature, and his late arrival to the breakfast devoured by the Durham officers\*, procured him the appellation of the *late* general Needham. Except that commanded by this general, the different columns were at their respective posts when the attack commenced, at seven in the morning of the twenty-first of June, with a brisk discharge of cannon and mortars, which was kept up, together with that of the small arms for an hour and a half. When the firing commenced, the position of the right column was on a rising ground at the west end of Enniscorthy, having Vinegar-hill on the east. This column, covered by the fire of its own six-pounder, penetrated into the town, and vigorously attacked the insurgents posted there, who had advantageously placed themselves in the streets and houses. A party of the troops having advanced with one field-piece opposite to the court-house, were there overpowered by a numerous body of pikemen, who rushed from the building, and took possession of the gun. This gun, however, was shortly after re-taken by another division of the king's troops, with considerable slaughter of the enemy. The rebels at length abandoned the town, retreating to Vinegar-hill, the summit of which, however, had been cleared by the central column, which had formed on a rising ground on

---

\* See vol. ii. p. 62.

the north side, where the rebels had reared a breast-work, before they could reach it, and their friends finding they could no longer keep possession, had retreated to another position on the east side, called the Lower hill. Having displayed the royal banners on the top of the wind-mill, in place of the standard of rebellion, the king's troops turned thirteen pieces of cannon, which had been abandoned, against the enemy. By the fire of these, and the resolution of the light brigade, they were thrown into confusion, when the cavalry charged and put them completely to the rout. The slaughter must have been dreadful, had not general Needham's post been left open for their escape, through which, ludicrously termed *Needham's Gap*, most of them fled towards Wexford. The rebels lost about four hundred men, among whom was father Clinch of Enniscorthy, all their cannon, some ammunition, and an immense quantity of rich plunder. The loss on the royal side was very trifling, perhaps about one hundred killed, among whom was lieutenant Sandys of the Longford militia. Colonel King of the Sligo regiment, colonel Vesey of that of the county of Dublin, lord Blaney, and lieutenant-colonel Cole were among the wounded. A great many loyalists, who had been compelled to accompany the rebels, were indiscriminately slain in the pursuit. Amongst the excesses committed by the king's troops on the recovery of Enniscorthy, the burning of a house which had been used as an hospital, in which were sixteen of the insurgents who, by wounds or sickness were incapable of making their escape, is

hardly inferior in atrocity to the massacre at Scullabogue.

“ The town of Wexford was re-taken on the same day as Enniscorthy. The rebel army, which had been some time encamped on Lacken-hill, had been driven from it by the troops under general Johnson, on the nineteenth of June, and obliged to take post on the Three Rocks.

“ The brigade under major-general Moore, which consisted of the second flank battalion, two companies of the sixtieth regiment, one troop of Hompesch’s hussars, and a small train of artillery, took a direction to the right towards Fooke’s mill, and encamped that night on the lawn of Mr. Henry Sutton, of Long Grague. The encampment was in front of the house, which was protected on both flanks and in the rear by a thick wood, out-buildings, &c.

“ The following morning the rebels collected all their force, and marched from the Three Rocks to attack general Moore’s brigade at Long Grague. He ordered a strong detachment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and to communicate with the troops which general Johnson had ordered to join him from Duncannon-fort. Colonel Wilkinson returning without any intelligence of them, and despairing of their arrival, general Moore began his march to Taghmon, about three o’clock in



the afternoon. The rebels were greatly reinforced in their march from the Three Rocks, so that their number exceeded six thousand. They marched on, boasting of their strength, and expressing a desire to be up with the king's troops. When general Moore had proceeded about half a mile on his road to Taghmon, he perceived the rebels advancing towards him. The general knowing their great superiority of numbers, immediately made preparations to receive them. Having disposed his force in the most judicious manner, he sent out an advanced guard, consisting of two companies of the sixtieth regiment to skirmish with them, whilst a six-pounder and a howitzer were drawn across the road to Goff's-bridge, where a few light infantry formed on each side of them under colonel Wilkinson. When the rebels came up they made an attack on these; but were served with such a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, that they were obliged to retreat over the bridge in the greatest confusion. During this time, a great body of them moved towards the left wing; but Majors Aylmer and Daniel, with five companies of light infantry and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The sixtieth regiment finding no opposition in front, immediately proceeded to the left, and attacked the body of rebels that was attempting to turn that wing. Here the engagement was very bloody. The rebels confiding in their numbers, and being so well armed with muskets and pikes, they made a most obstinate resistance. General Moore now began to be very doubtful who would keep the field, as a great part of his army could not come into

the action, being obliged to guard the ammunition and baggage. A party of rebels observing the Hompesch's hussars coming down, with their green uniform, they thought that the hussars had been a party of their friends coming to assist them; but were soon convinced of their mistake, for they immediately made a great slaughter amongst them. The engagement began before four o'clock and continued till eight, when the rebels began to disperse, and soon after the greatest part of them retreated precipitately towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

“ The loss of the rebels could not be exactly ascertained, as the killed lay scattered over the fields for a considerable extent; but it must have been very great. Had the situation of the country admitted the cavalry to make a charge on them in their retreat, a great number more would have been killed.

“ When the action was over, general Moore considered it too late to proceed to Taghmon, and therefore took post for the night upon the field of battle, where he was soon after reinforced by the second and twenty-ninth regiments, under the command of Lord Dalhousie. Here we shall leave them, and relate that dreadful event, the massacre on the bridge of Wexford.

“ A general massacre of all the loyalist prisoners in Wexford was twice attempted by a bloody-minded fanatic called Thomas Dixon; who was first opposed

by one Hore, and next by one Scallion, both of whom defied him to single combat, and insisted that he should shew himself a man before a single prisoner should be put to death. He however would not relinquish his bloody design, and on the nineteenth of June, the protestants were informed that all the prisoners would be put to death the following day. Accordingly, in the morning, Dixon, mounted on a tall white horse, rode up to the prison door, and swore that not a prisoner should be alive at sun-set. He then rode through several streets repeating the same. The town bell was soon after rung, and the drums beat to arms, for the purpose of assembling the rebels to join those at Three Rocks, and to march against the army under general Moore. About two o'clock in the afternoon, Dixon assembled the murdering band, and immediately displayed that woeful harbinger of death, the black flag; having upon one side a bloody cross, and on the other the letters M. W. S. inscribed upon it, which were supposed to mean murder without sin. After having made a long procession through the town, they fixed the flag on the custom-house quay, near the bridge. About four o'clock the butchery began: the prisoners were brought from the gaol and the prison-ship by a strong guard of these sanguinary miscreants, in parties of from ten to twenty, preceded by the black flag, to the bridge, where they were piked to death with circumstances of the most savage cruelty, and afterwards thrown into the river, to make room for others. While they were thus infamously employed, a rebel officer, possessed of some

humanity, went to Dr. Caulfield, the popish bishop, who was then drinking wine after dinner, and believing that he could stop the massacre sooner than any other person, earnestly intreated him to come and save the prisoners. The bishop, in an unconcerned manner replied, "It was not in his power to save them," and requested the captain to sit down and take a glass of wine with him, adding at the same time, that "the people must be gratified!" The officer refused the bishop's invitation, and walked away filled with abhorrence. All this time the inhuman pikemen were busily employed butchering the poor protestants on the bridge; some they would perforate in places not mortal, to increase their torture, others they thrust their pikes into the body, and raising it up, held it suspended, writhing in the extreme agony of pain, while any signs of life remained, and exulted in the deed. In the midst of this diabolical work, general Edward Roche, came galloping to the bridge, and ordered them to beat to arms, saying, "that Vinegar-hill was nearly surrounded by the king's troops, and that all should repair to the camp, as reinforcements were wanting." There was immediately a cry of "To camp! to camp!" and the rebels ran off in every direction. The bloody scene was instantly closed, and three of the prisoners were left on their knees on the bridge, who were so much stupified with terror that they did not make the least effort to escape. Soon after some of the rebel guard returned to the bridge, and conducted the prisoners back to the gaol; shortly after, the bloody monster, Thomas Dixon, returned

and ordered out the remainder of the prisoners for execution, and the greater part of them were tortured and put to death in the same manner as the former. He then proceeded to the market-house, and ordered a party from thence to the bridge, and after butchering them, they returned and brought out ten more, whom they also most barbarously murdered. They then brought out eighteen, and while they were murdering them, Richard Monk, a rebel officer, came galloping into the town from Vinegar-hill, shouting, "D—n your souls, you vagabonds, why dont you go out and meet the enemy that are coming in, and not be murdering the prisoners in cold blood?" Some protestant women having asked him, "what news?" he replied, "the king's troops are encamped round Vinegar-hill." He then proceeded towards the convent, and seeing the women following him, he pulled out a pistol and swore that he would blow out their brains if they came any farther. Soon after, father Corrin was observed running towards the bridge: when he arrived there, they had murdered six men, out of the last party that was conveyed there. He immediately besought them to spare the remainder, and it was not without the greatest difficulty he prevailed upon them; for after using all the arguments he could, with no effect, he took off his hat, and desired them to kneel down and pray for the souls of the prisoners before they put any more of them to death. The rebels complied with this request, and after he had got them in the attitude of devotion, he said, "Now pray to God to have mercy on your souls,



“ and teach you to shew that kindness towards them,  
“ which you expect from him in the hour of death,  
“ and in the day of judgment.” This had the desired effect, and the prisoners were soon after conducted to prison by the guard, who swore that not a protestant man, woman, or child, should be left alive in the town the next day.

“ In the whole, ninety-seven of the prisoners were deliberately murdered, and all the protestants would have shared a similar fate, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the king's troops.

“ We shall now return to the army under general Moore. Being reinforced, as before related, the general was preparing to proceed with his forces to Taghmon, on the morning of the twenty-first of June. At this time the rebels in Wexford considered themselves in a very critical situation, and being convinced that it would be impossible for them to keep the town, they liberated lord Kingsborough and the other officers who were prisoners there, and requested that he would be their mediator, and write to the general officers to spare the inhabitants of Wexford, and their property, on returning to their allegiance. To this proposal lord Kingsborough agreed, on condition that he was invested with the command of the town. The rebels having acceded to his lordship's desire, he forwarded the following proposals, made by them, to general Moore :



“ That captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms we hope captain M'Manus will be able to procure.—Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford.

“ MATTHEW KEUGH.”

“ To these proposals general Moore returned no answer, but immediately forwarded them to the commanding officer, general Lake, and instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he directed his march towards Wexford, and stationed his army within two miles of that town. General Lake returned the following answer to the proposals:—

“ *Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798.*

“ Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their lead-

ers, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) "G. LAKE."

"Soon after captain M'Manus had departed with the proposals, the rebel leaders desired lord Kingsborough to dispatch a second messenger, lest the king's troops should arrive before the terms had been accepted. He accordingly sent ensign Harman, to request the general to encamp at Carrick-bridge, before he advanced into the town. As the ensign was proceeding on the road, he was met by father Murphy, who exclaimed "he would have no peace," and ordered his aid-de-camp to shoot him; on which he drew a pistol and shot Harman through the head.

"After these proposals were forwarded, the rebel general Roche endeavoured to persuade them to go out and meet the army; but all his intreaties were in vain; for when captain Boyd of the Wexford cavalry, and a few of his troop, appeared, the rebels fled over the bridge in the greatest confusion, and in the course of a few minutes the streets were almost clear. On the cry of "The army is come!" a number of wretches, sick and wounded, ran out of the infirmary, some of them without clothes, and followed their associates; the greater part of whom made the best of their way to Kilmuckridge, and the rest into the barony of Forth.

"When captain Boyd arrived, and found that the

rebels had evacuated the town, he immediately proceeded to the gaol to see the surviving prisoners, who had been miserably fed for some time. He instantly set them at liberty; but recommended them to remain in prison, until after the king's troops arrived, lest they should be mistaken for rebels and put to death. Shortly after the Queen's Royals arrived in the most regular order, not a word being heard in all the ranks, and took possession of the garrison. The joy of the inhabitants, particularly the protestants who were doomed to death, was inexpressible. Had they arrived a day sooner, the massacre upon the bridge would have been prevented.

“ General Lake entered the town of Wexford in the morning of the twenty-second of June, and established his staff in Keugh's house. He then issued a proclamation for apprehending all the rebel leaders; assuring the deluded multitude, that such as would surrender and deliver up their arms, should receive mercy and protection: he also issued general orders that no person should be put to death, unless he had been tried and condemned by a court-martial. He forbid any inhabitant or other person being molested, and charged the soldiers not to take any article away from any person, without having paid for it.

“ The victories which the king's troops had gained at Vinegar-hill, and other places, and the evacuation of Wexford, so dispirited the rebels, that numbers of them repaired to the different commanders of garri-

sons, took the oath of allegiance, and obtained protections.

“ A few days after the king's troops entered Wexford, the famous rebel general, father Roche, was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and executed on the bridge, along with one Fenelon, and some others; after which their bodies were thrown into the river. Roche was tall and very corpulent, and so heavy, that when he was suspended, the rope broke and he fell to the ground: on recovering a little, he said, “ God's blood! what are you about? why do you pull my “ stock so tight?” He then ascended the fatal step a second time, and was launched into eternity.

“ As soon as it was known at Wexford that the rebels were defeated at Vinegar-hill, Beauchamp Baginval Harvey, who had acted as commander in chief to the rebels, made his escape, and accompanied by Mr John Colclough, fled to one of the Saltee islands, about four miles from the shore, taking with them provisions, wine, spirits, and arms. There they purposed remaining until a favourable opportunity offered for getting themselves conveyed to France. Information having been received by government where they had secreted themselves, a party of military was dispatched in pursuit of them, on the twenty-fourth of June, who landed on the island the following morning. Soon after they landed, they found a chest of plate, and some articles of wearing apparel, and after a diligent search, discovered them, secreted in a cave

and disguised as peasants. They immediately surrendered their arms, came forth, and were conveyed back to Wexford the next morning. Mr Harvey's trial commenced the same evening. He did not deny his having acted as commander of the rebel forces, but endeavoured to extenuate, by saying, "That he accepted the command to prevent much greater evils, which would accrue from its falling into other hands, and with the hope of surrendering that command, one day or other, with great advantage to the country." He had no counsel, and after a trial which lasted near eight hours, he was found guilty—death; which sentence was put in execution on the morning of the twenty-eighth. His head was placed on the session house, and his body thrown into the river.

"Mr Colclough was also executed on the evening of the twenty-eighth, and his body thrown into the river.

"Cornelius Grogan was arrested at his seat in Johnstown, and on his trial endeavoured to prove that he was forced to act as commissary to the rebel army; but was convicted and executed. His head was placed upon the court-house, and his body thrown into the river.

"Matthew Keugh, who acted as governor of Wexford, was taken prisoner, convicted on the clearest evidence, and executed. His head was also placed on the session-house.



“ Esmond Kyan, commander of the rebel artillery, was also taken prisoner, tried, found guilty, and executed.

“ Edward Roche, a rebel general, was taken prisoner, tried, sentenced for transportation, and was sent to Newgate, with some other convicts. Before the vessel was ready to convey them abroad, he died suddenly.

“ Richard Monk, a rebel captain, received a wound in an engagement, and was proceeding to surrender himself to colonel Maxwell, at Newtownbarry, when he was overtaken by some yeomanry and shot.

“ Thomas Dixon, who led the rebel band that murdered the prisoners on the bridge of Wexford, was noted for cruelty and cowardice. His wife was, if possible, more sanguinary than himself. They never could be found, though a great reward was offered for their apprehension.

“ In the whole, sixty-six persons were tried by court-martial, and executed at Wexford.”

“ While the surviving loyalists in Wexford were rejoicing at their deliverance, a very tragic scene was acted in Gorey. On the departure of general Needham from the latter town to Vinegar-hill, on the twentieth of June, he had sent an express to captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, who commanded



in Arklow, ordering him to dispatch immediately to Gorey that part of the Gorey cavalry who remained in Arklow, and informing him, that on their arrival at their place of destination, they should find an officer to command them, and a large force with which they were to unite. By the same express the Gorey infantry were ordered to remain in Arklow; but these, and the refugee inhabitants of Gorey, hearing of a large force to protect their town, were so impatient to revisit their homes, that they followed the cavalry contrary to orders. This body of cavalry, amounting to only seventeen in number, found on their arrival at Gorey, to their astonishment, not an officer or soldier. They, however, had the courage or temerity to scour the country in search of rebels, with the assistance of some others who had joined them, and killed about fifty men whom they found in their houses, or straggling homeward from the rebel army. On the twenty-second, a body of about five hundred rebels, under the conduct of Perry, retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the Wicklow mountains, received information of this slaughter, and the weakness of the party committing it. They instantly ran full speed to the town, determined on vengeance. On intelligence of their approach, lieutenant Gordon, a youth of only twenty years of age, who had the command, marched his men (consisting of fourteen infantry, beside the cavalry), out of the town to meet the enemy, and took post in an advantageous position near a place called Charlotte-grove, where they fired some volleys on the rebels, seven of whom they killed;

but finding that they must be immediately surrounded and destroyed if they should attempt to maintain their post, they retreated, and each horseman taking a footman behind him, fled through the town toward Arklow. As by this motion the refugees, who had returned from Arklow, and were now attempting to escape again thither, were left exposed to the pursuit of an enraged enemy, the officer attempted to rally the yeomen on the road, to cover, if possible, the flight of these unfortunate people; but the yeomen galloped away full speed to Arklow, in spite of his remonstrances, and the refugees were slaughtered along the road to the number of thirty-seven men, beside a few who were left for dead, but afterwards recovered. No women or children were injured, as the rebels, who professed to act on a plan of retaliation, found on inquiry that no women or children of their party had been hurt. This was owing to the humanity of a young gentleman of seventeen years of age in the yeoman cavalry, who had by his remonstrances restrained his associates from violence with respect to the fair sex. In the action of this day, which will be long remembered in Gorey under the title of *Bloody Friday*, only three of the yeoman infantry were killed, and none of the cavalry. The rebels having accomplished their purpose of revenge, their only motive for deviating from their course to visit Gorey, resumed, after a short repast, their march to the Wicklow mountains."

After the signal advantages gained by the king's

troops, and the expulsion of the rebels from Wexford and Enniscorthy, those of the latter who remained in arms, were compelled to make mountains and other devious recesses their only places of abode. These seem now to have confined themselves merely to attempts to prolong the war, till the arrival of a French force to their assistance, by eluding the vigilance of the royal troops by rapid movements from one strong position to another.

K 2



## C H A P. XI.

**T**HE rebel columns which evacuated Wexford, on the twenty-second of June formed a junction in the mountains between the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny, where they continued and spread desolation for some time, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of the occupiers as fell into their hands. The first achievement they endeavoured to perform, was an attempt to destroy Hacketstown, in which they succeeded, though not without considerable loss. The rebels made an attack upon this town on the twenty-fifth of May; but were defeated by the yeomen and a party of militia.

The column of rebels under the command of general Perry, father Kearns, Garret Byrne, and William Byrne of Ballymanus, marched to Hacketstown early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June. The garrison of that town consisted of fifty of the Antrim militia, lieutenant Gardiner; fifty of the Talbotstown cavalry, captain Hume; twenty-four Shilelah cavalry,

lieutenants Bradwell and Taylor; forty-six Hacketstown infantry, captain Hardy; and thirty Coolatin infantry, captain Chamney. This little army marched a short distance out of town, at six o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June, to meet the rebels, who were upwards of four thousand strong. Before they had advanced far, they perceived the enemy, who immediately began to file off on each side of the road, for the purpose of surrounding them. In consequence of this manœuvre, the cavalry were obliged to retreat by the Clonmore road, and could not return to assist in defending the town. In this retreat captain Hardy and four men were killed. The infantry were also obliged to retreat, and one hundred and twenty of them took post in the barrack, and the remainder defended the front.

A clergyman of the name of Magee, and nine protestants, took their station in a house which commanded the principal street, determined to defend it to the last extremity. Mr. Magee's family, all the protestant women of the town, and even the wife of the rebel general Byrne, took refuge in this house; the lower part of which was barricaded, four men placed in the rear to prevent it from being fired, and five in the front, partly for its defence, and partly to cover the adjoining barrack, which being a thatched building, could not be defended by the troops inside.

Soon after this, the town was completely surrounded by an immense body of pikemen, who immediately

fired it in many different places, while upwards of a thousand men poured upon it a heavy fire of musketry. In two hours, the whole of the town was in flames, except the barrack and two other houses; one of which contained the brave little garrison already mentioned. The rebels finding they could not succeed in destroying the barrack, without possession of Mr Magee's house, which flanked the back part of it, they relinquished the former, and approached the latter in great force. With colours flying, and sounding their bugle horns, they pushed carts before them on which were placed feather-beds, to cover the attack, and seemed determined to conquer or die; but in spite of all their efforts they were obliged to abandon it, leaving behind them twenty-eight men killed. Behind the house, next day, were found fifty dead bodies of pikemen, and thirty more covered with clay. It would not have been possible for that gallant handful of men to have defended themselves for want of ammunition, had it not been for the assistance of a wounded officer, who sat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; while his wife, to the imminent danger of her life, continued to distribute refreshments to the besieged during their fatiguing and dangerous service; and when their stock of balls was exhausted, she melted pewter plates, and with her own hands cast them into bullets, which her husband made up into cartridges.

The engagement continued till near four o'clock in the afternoon, when the rebels drew off their force in



a regular manner, taking with them several cart loads of killed and wounded; though many of them were thrown into the burning houses and consumed, so that upon the whole not less than two hundred of them must have been destroyed.

From the total want of shelter, as well as ammunition and provisions, and being apprehensive of a fresh attack, the army resolved to retreat to Tullow the same evening, having only eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. The rebels returned in the night and burnt the barracks and stores, and destroyed the houses belonging to loyalists for some miles round.

As that column of rebels still continued to infest the country near Gorey, a detachment of the Tinnahely cavalry, under the command of captain Gowen, was sent to reconnoitre towards Monysced. He saw the rebels near that town, in great force, having received considerable reinforcements after their flight from Vinegar-hill. Captain Gowen immediately sent an express to general Needham, who ordered out colonel Puleston, of the Antient Britons, with detachments of that regiment, the fourth and fifth dragoons, the Gorey, Wingfield, and Ballaghkeen cavalry. As the patrol advanced, they were informed that the rebels were near Ballyellis, and that they were in great want of ammunition. The colonel then said he would put them all to the sword, and making all speed, he perceived them coming along the side of Kilcavan-hill. When the rebels saw the cavalry advancing in so rapid

and incautious a manner, they immediately left the road and lay down under cover of the hedges, leaving all their horses, baggage-carts and wounded, which they brought from the battle of Hacketstown, in the road. Here they lay till the cavalry came up in full speed, on which the rebels opened a most tremendous fire of musketry on them; and being securely sheltered, the cavalry could do no execution, and were obliged to gallop, stooping under cover of the hedges; and not being cautious enough to avoid the carts in the road, rode against some of them and were overthrown: those behind pressing forward, and being also obliged to stoop, could not see them in time to stop, therefore tumbled one over another, horse over horse, whilst some of the horses feet got entangled in the carts, so that the road was strewed with men and horses plunging and tumbling about. The rebels, taking advantage of this confusion, rushed on them, piked and shot twenty-five of the Ancient Britons, eleven of the fifth dragoons, six Gorey cavalry, two Ballaghkeene cavalry, and two loyalists who went out with the patrol, and wounded many others. The remainder escaped and passed on through Carnew, took another route and arrived safely at Gorey. During this transaction, the Wingfield dismounted cavalry and infantry, under captain Gowen, came up with the rebels, and being dressed in coloured clothes, they thought they were part of their own forces. The yeomanry seeing their opportunity, attacked them with great spirit, killed a number of them, and made their retreat without the loss of a man.

The rebels having acquired a strength of arms and ammunition by the defeat of the cavalry, and knowing that Carnew was only garrisoned by about fifty yeomen, resolved on attacking it; but the yeomanry being informed of their intentions, took post in a malt-house, and repulsed them with great slaughter. The rebels then retired to Ballyellis, and in their retreat plundered and destroyed a new house, the property of Sir John Jervis White.

They then repaired to Kilcavan, whence, after a short stay, they proceeded to Ballyraheen-hill. In their march they killed twelve loyalists, and burned several houses.

They were pursued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillelah cavalry, the Tinahely infantry, the Coolatin and the Kilkenna; the whole making near two hundred men. These troops endeavoured to get to Ballyraheen-hill before the rebels, but could not. They found them advantageously posted behind hedges, and notwithstanding that, and their great superiority in numbers, engaged them upwards of half an hour; but were at last obliged to retreat. Captain Chamney of the Coolatin, captain Nixon of the Kilkenna, and seventeen privates were killed, and a number wounded. The victors then attacked captain Chamney's house, but were repulsed with loss by lieutenant Chamney, who, with several yeomen, had taken post in it for its defence.

The rebel force now assembled on a large hill which separates the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, called the Whiteheaps, and remained there until the fifth of July, when two columns arrived, one under sir James Duff, the other under general Needham, with intention to surround the hill and make a general attack. The rebels having previously received information of the movement of the king's troops, moved off the hill very early in the morning; but were intercepted by the column under sir James Duff, and after a few rounds of grape shot were obliged to change the course of their retreat. They were closely pursued by sir James, and were soon after perceived by general Neeham, who immediately joined in the pursuit, and finding that he was at too great a distance for his infantry to come up with them, he pushed on with his cavalry, ordering the infantry to follow, and in a short time joined sir James Duff. After a pursuit of twelve miles, during which many of them threw away their clothes, the rebels resolved to come to an engagement, being almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue. For this purpose they formed behind the hedges and waited the attack of the troops.

When sir James arrived he began the attack by a discharge of grape-shot from his curriele guns, and the contest continued for some time; but when the infantry came up, the rebels were soon routed with great slaughter. The loss of the army amounted to about twenty, that of the rebels to about a hundred.

We shall now return to view the operations of the principal body of rebels under general Perry, in which consisted the principal strength of the conspiracy, leaving the remnant of the force defeated by general Duff to carry on that desultory warfare which they for some time maintained in the Wicklow mountains.

L 2



## C. H. A. P. XII.

**GENERAL** Perry finding it would be impossible to do any more execution in the county of Wexford, it being so full of troops, and the rebel forces at the same time considerably diminished, now proceeded to the county of Kildare, where he formed a junction with a large body of rebels commanded by Michael Aylmer, expecting to penetrate into the north of Ireland; but Aylmer prevailed on him to abandon that enterprise and attack Clonard, as there was but a small force to defend it; then march by Kilbeggan to the Shannon and surprise Athlone, where he expected great reinforcements. This plan being adopted, their united forces marched on the eleventh of July to put it into execution.

The military at Clonard were unapprised of the intention of the rebels until they were informed of their approach. Every preparation was immediately made. The yeomen assembled, and under the direction of lieutenant Tyrrel, were placed in the most advanta-



geous positions. An old turret at the end of the lieutenant's garden, which commanded the road the rebels were advancing by, was occupied by six of the corps, one of whom was the lieutenant's son, only sixteen years old. The rebels advanced so rapidly that the gate leading to the court-yard was obliged to be closed before all the guard assembled; so that when lieutenant Tyrrel came to ascertain his strength, he had but twenty-seven men, including his own three sons, the eldest of whom was only eighteen years of age. Such a critical situation required all the firmness, skill, and intrepidity of a veteran. Though the lieutenant had never served in any military capacity, his good sense supplied the want of experience, and his courage furnished resources adequate to the magnitude of the occasion. His men were equally zealous and determined to maintain their post. After sending a supply of ammunition to the advanced post at the turret, he retired into his dwelling house with the main body, of whom he selected the best marksmen, placed them at those windows from which they were most likely to annoy the enemy, and requested that they would not fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of three hundred cavalry, commanded by Andrew Farrel, approached the turret, apprehending no danger. Young Tyrrel fired the first shot, which mortally wounded Farrel; and the rest immediately fired on the cavalry, which threw them into such confusion that they fled beyond the reach of their guns. The

rebel infantry then coming up, passed the turret under cover of a wall, and taking post behind a hedge, on the other side of the road, maintained a constant fire on it, but without effect. The infantry which had passed the turret being joined by another party which had advanced by a different road, for they purposed surrounding the town, stationed a strong guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcements from arriving in that direction. The marksmen at the windows soon put to flight this guard, after killing ten or twelve of them, and not one of them appeared afterwards on the bridge, so that the communication with the western road was preserved, which we shall find to have been of considerable importance.

Being thus defeated in the first onset, the rebels became enraged, and determined on revenge. A large party contrived to get into the garden, and some of them rushed into the turret. The yeomen were upon the upper floor, and had dragged up the ladder by which they ascended. The rebels then endeavoured to climb up on each other and get into the upper story; but as fast as they appeared they were killed by the yeomen. Some ran pikes into the floor, and others fired through it, but without effect, until twenty-seven of their men lay dead on the ground-floor. They then brought a quantity of straw and set the turret on fire. Two of the yeomen, one of whom was young Tyrrel, were killed in attempting to escape; the other four leaped from a window, and under cover of a wall got into the house. The rebels

then set fire to the toll-house and some other cabins, to annoy the garrison, and threw some of their dead into the flames. The conflict had now lasted near six hours, when about five in the evening a reinforcement was descried from the house: the hopes of the yeomen were elevated, and they fought with increased vigour. One of the yeomen, who had been excluded by the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, finding he could be of no use, repaired to Kinnegad, and represented the situation of his friends at Clonard. Lieutenant Houghton, with fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, and a serjeant with eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, being all that could be spared, immediately marched for Clonard. As soon as they arrived lieutenant Tyrrel sallied from the house, and formed a junction with them on the road which leads to the bridge, which had been kept open. A few volleys completely cleared the roads, and having then placed the Kinnegad infantry and Northumberland fencibles in such positions as most effectually to gall the enemy in their retreat from the garden, lieutenant Tyrrel with a few chosen men undertook to drive them from it. Some of them were posted upon a mount, planted with fir trees, which afforded some protection, others lay concealed behind a privet hedge, from whence they could see every person who entered. The lieutenant and his party were received by a discharge from both bodies. No time was lost in attacking those behind the hedge, who were obliged to retire to the mount. The action then became very warm, and the rebels seemed determined to maintain their advanta-

geous situation. The yeomen, but few in number, and six of them wounded, the rest almost overcome with fatigue, could not think of retiring; still they persevered and maintained a steady and well-directed fire on the enemy till they compelled them to retreat, when the Kinnegad infantry and Northumberland fencibles made great havoc.

This victory, as brilliant as any that occurred during the rebellion, was now complete. There were upwards of a hundred and fifty of the enemy killed, and a great number wounded.

The rebels retreated from Clonard along the Dublin road; and, after proceeding some distance, turned towards the right and took possession of lord Harberton's house at Carbery, where they drank wine and spirits to excess.

On the twelfth of July they proceeded to Johnstown, and from thence to the Nineteen-mile house. They were pursued by parties of the Limerick militia and Edenderry yeoman cavalry, under the command of colonel Gough, who attacked and defeated them. They then fled in confusion, leaving all their cattle, stores, &c. behind them; and were pursued by general Myers with a detachment of the Buckinghamshire militia and a few of the Dublin yeomanry, who drove them towards Slane in the county of Meath. They then marched in the night to the Boyne, after

passing which they were pursued by two divisions under generals Weyins and Meyrick.

The rebels formed again in a strong position on the road to Ardee ; but when the Sunderland regiment arrived, they were routed and obliged to fly in all directions. They were then charged by the cavalry, and a great slaughter ensued. Some of the rebels fled to Ardee, the rest over the Boyne towards Garretstown, where they were again pursued and attacked by detachments of the Carlow and Fermanagh militia, the Swords infantry, part of the Dumfries dragoons, and three corps of yeomen cavalry, all under the command of captain Gordon of the Dumfries, who, in the course of a few days, killed great numbers and finally dispersed them.

Perry and father Kearns escaped into the King's county ; but were soon after taken and brought prisoners to Edenderry, where they were tried by court-martial and executed on the twenty-first of July. Aylmer and Fitzgerald, with some other leaders, surrendered on condition of being transported. Garret and William Byrne also surrendered on the same terms, but as it was proved that the latter had been guilty of various murders, he was tried by court-martial and executed at Wicklow, on the twenty-sixth of September, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

One body of rebels which escaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the com-

mand of father John Murphy of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap, and thence toward Castlecomer, hoping to excite an insurrection in that quarter; particularly among the colliers. Entering the gap, and driving forward a few troops who attempted to oppose them, they entered and burned the village of Kiledmond. They then proceeded toward Newbridge, where they arrived on the twenty-third of June. Lieutenant Dixon, with twenty-five of the Wexford regiment, and a small party of the 4th dragoons, was stationed there, and determined to defend it. They therefore took post on the bridge to prevent their passing the river, but were soon defeated by the rebels and obliged to retreat, with the loss of twenty-seven men taken prisoners, of whom seven, condemned as orangemen, were soon after shot. An express having been dispatched to general Asgil at Kilkenny, he repaired to Newbridge to stop their progress, but arrived too late, the enemy having commenced their march to the ridge of Leinster, within five miles of Castlecomer, where they spent the night.

The garrison of Castlecomer, consisting chiefly of a few yeomen, had been reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford, and a company of the Downshire militia, and twenty infantry and forty cavalry of the Cullinagh yeomen, making in the whole about two hundred and fifty men, mostly cavalry.

Early in the morning of the twenty-fourth of June,



a reconnoitring party was sent out, which found the rebels advancing the main body in the road, with considerable wings on each side. The party being nearly surrounded before they observed them (owing to a thick fog), was obliged to retreat precipitately with great loss. The main body of the army, seeing the reconnoitring party retreat in such confusion, joined them and fled into the town, and a number of them taking post in four houses which commanded the bridge, kept up a constant fire on the rebels as they advanced. The wings now extended, forded the river, and set fire to the town in several places. General Asgil at length arriving, commenced a heavy fire on the town with his artillery, not knowing that many loyalists were still in it making a gallant defence. This firing, however, considerably annoyed the rebels, and determined them to retire from the town about four o'clock in the afternoon. The general, however, considered the town not tenable, and the remaining loyalists were consequently obliged to retreat with him to Kilkenny; leaving their goods a prey to the enemy, who again took possession of the town on the retreat of the army.

The loss of the rebels in this action might be near two hundred in killed and wounded.

The enemy immediately began to plunder the houses of the loyalists who retreated, and committed every excess. The main body afterwards retired to the high grounds, where they remained till the following day.

Being disappointed of raising an insurrection in the county of Kilkenny, where few had joined them, they determined to retreat back into the county of Wexford, through Scullagh gap. On the twenty-fifth of June they marched from the ridge with this resolution, proceeded toward Newbridge, and took post near that town on a rising ground at a place called Kilcomney. Here they were attacked on three sides at once, about six o'clock on the following morning, by the army under general Asgil, amounting to near twelve hundred effective men, and that of major Matthews, amounting to five hundred men, composed chiefly of the Downshire militia from Maryborough. The alacrity of the latter army to attack the insurgents, seems to have been the cause why they were not allowed to escape into the county of Wexford without a battle. After about an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing that they would be surrounded, fled precipitately, and in the greatest confusion, towards Scullagh gap, leaving all their cannon, ammunition, and plunder, in the hands of the army. They were pursued with slaughter by the cavalry near six miles. Their artillery consisted of ten light field pieces and some swivels. Among the booty were one hundred and seventy cattle, one hundred sheep, and seven hundred horses.

The loss of the king's troops has been stated by the general at only seven men : that of the rebels amounted to upwards of two hundred. They, however, forced their way through the gap, in which they were op-

posed by a small body of troops, and directed their course through the dwarf woods near Ferns to the Wicklow mountains.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, was taken soon after and hanged at Tullow. His body was burned and his head fixed on the market-house.

VOL. II.

M



## C H A P. XIII.

**M**EANTIME Ulster, the quarter in which the principles of the United Irishmen had first appeared, the best acquainted with the use of arms, and the most enlightened province of Ireland—where government had reason to be most of all apprehensive of the consequences of insurrection—continued in a state of almost perfect tranquillity. The inhabitants of this province, chiefly presbyterians, though perhaps possessed of greater courage than the people of the southern districts, yet appear to have acted with the greatest caution and circumspection. Though the mail-coaches did not arrive, the signal for their rising, they resolved to wait till they should learn whether their brethren in the south had actually appeared in arms. Lord O'Neil, however, governor of the county of Antrim, in consequence of certain intelligence that an insurrection was shortly to take place in that county, summoned the magistrates to meet on the seventh of June at the town of Antrim, in order to concert measures for its suppression. The leaders of the association,

apprised of his lordship's designs, and convinced that something must immediately be done, resolved, in order to counteract those designs, to appear in arms on the same day, and, with their followers, to seize the town, together with his lordship and the magistrates, whom they intended to detain as hostages, in the midst of their deliberations. In the town was a quantity of ammunition, and a great number of arms surrendered at different times by the disaffected, which they also hoped to regain possession of.

The attack was accordingly made about two o'clock in the afternoon, with such impetuosity, that the troops were quickly overpowered, and the town nearly completely taken. A reinforcement, however, having been ordered to march to Antrim, by the commander in the district, general Nugent, arrived at the very moment, and attacked the rebels, now within the town. But the vanguard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty men, three of whom were officers, colonel Durham ordered the artillery to batter the town, which soon compelled the insurgents to abandon it. They fled towards Shanes-castle (the residence of Lord O'Neil) and Randalstown, whither they were pursued with the slaughter of about two hundred men. They left behind them a six-pounder, two currie guns which they had taken from the king's troops, and a considerable quantity of small arms. Amongst the losses of the loyalists were colonel Lumley of the 22d dragoons and lieutenant Murphy wound-

ed; cornet Dunn killed; and lord O'Neil mortally wounded.

About half-past one on the seventh, a body of insurgents attacked Randalstown, where fifty of the Toome yeomanry surrendered to them. At ten o'clock they abandoned the town and marched to Toome, where they remained two days.

An attack was made on the morning of the seventh upon the town of Larne, by a small body which was repulsed by the garrison, consisting of a detachment of the Tay fencibles under a subaltern officer.

Feeble attempts were made on Ballymene and Ballycastle.

Disgusted by so many defeats, the main body retired to Donegor-hill, where the greater part broke or surrendered their arms, and nearly the whole of them dispersed, to which they were incited by the exhortations of Mr M'Cloerty, a magistrate whom they had taken prisoner.

On the eighth of June a partial insurrection commenced in the county of Down; a numerous body of rebels having made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Saintfield, under the command of a doctor Jackson of Newtownards. Colonel Stapleton having received information to this effect, immediately march-



ed with a detachment of York fencibles, with some yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of artillery, towards Saintfield. On the ninth the rebels elected Henry Munro, a shopkeeper of Lisburn, their general; and having been informed of colonel Stapleton's approach, placed themselves in ambush on each side of the road he had to pass, about a quarter of a mile from Saintfield. They suffered the greatest part of the army to pass unmolested, and then opened a heavy fire on their rear, which consisted of cavalry, and so far succeeded that the royal army was for some time in danger of total defeat, having lost about fifty of their number, among whom were captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unitt, and ensign Sparks, together with the Rev. Mr Mortimer, who had just joined them.

The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven in confusion, rallying with a cool intrepidity, at length dislodged the rebels, who fled in the greatest disorder towards Newtownards, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded. The army, after retaining possession of the field of battle for two hours, retreated to Belfast.

The day after the rebels were defeated at Saintfield, they attacked a small body of troops who had taken post in the market-house at Newtownards, to guard a quantity of ammunition, baggage, &c. These finding they could not withstand the superior force of the enemy, at length consented to capitulate, and marched to Belfast.

Having now gained a considerable quantity of ammunition, and little discouraged by the defeat at Saintfield, the rebels re-assembled and took post at Ballynahinch, on the Windmill-hill, and at the house and in the demesne of lord Moira.

On the twelfth of June general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, with a detachment of the 22d dragoons, the Monaghan militia, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry ; and was joined by colonel Stewart with his party from Downpatrick, making in all near fifteen hundred men. After a few discharges of artillery the rebels were driven from the hill, and obliged to join their friends at lord Moira's, with the loss of a colonel who was taken and hanged. General Nugent then took possession of the hill, and both armies spent the night in preparations for battle, which began on the morning of the thirteenth, when the town was set on fire by the king's troops. The action was maintained with little or no execution, the rebel cannon being small, and the shells from the royal army bursting in the air. At length the Monaghan militia, with two field-pieces, posted at the great gate, were attacked with such determined courage by the rebel pikemen, that they were obliged to fall back on the Hillsborough cavalry, who also retired in great confusion. The troops afterwards found means to rally, while the Argyleshire fencibles were making their attack on another quarter. The rebels, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a resolute stand at its summit, at a kind of fortification, de-

fended that post for a considerable time, but were at length compelled to give way in all directions, with the loss of their cannon and about two hundred men in killed and wounded.

The loss of the king's army in this engagement may have amounted to about forty, of whom two were officers, captain Evatt killed and lieutenant Ellis wounded.

The main body of rebels retreated to the mountains of Sleeve Croob, where they soon after separated and returned to their several homes. Some of their leaders were soon after apprehended and executed, and thus terminated this short and partial but active and vigorous insurrection.

On the eleventh of June the rebels made an attack upon the town of Portaferry, but were repulsed by a small party of yeomanry, under the command of captain Matthews, assisted by the fire of a revenue cruiser, commanded by captain Hopkins, with the loss of forty men.

“ On the subsiding of this local rebellion in the north-eastern quarter of Ireland, another local rebellion, much inferior in vigour, and very easily suppressed, commenced in the opposite south-western quarter, in the county of Cork. Accompanied with the same kind of violent acts as elsewhere in the south, and exhibiting nothing extraordinary or peculiar, it requires

little notice. The principal action, and the only one which government had thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where, on the nineteenth of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel, sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; but the assailants were quickly repulsed with some loss, and retreated to the height. Here, if the soldiers had pursued them, from which they were with great difficulty restrained, they would probably have been surrounded and slaughtered like the North-Cork detachment at Oulart. While the officers were endeavouring to form the men again, a body of rebels were making a motion to seize the cannon, and another body made its appearance on the high grounds in its rear; but, at the critical moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of major Innes, who on their march to Cloghnakilty had heard the report of the guns, came to their assistance, and by a brisk fire put the assailants to flight on one side, after which those who were on the heights behind retired on receiving a few discharges of the artillery. The loss of the rebels in this action may perhaps have amounted to be-

tween fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a sergeant and a private."

During all this time the metropolis remained perfectly tranquil, except in cases of alarm within and accounts of hostilities in the country. Soon after the rebellion broke out, a number of gentlemen, apprehended as rebel leaders, in the city, were tried and executed, among whom were Henry and John Sheares.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, made his entrance into Dublin on the twentieth of June, which was soon after left by lord Camden, who retired to England.

On the tenth of July a proclamation was published in the Dublin Gazette, offering a general pardon and protection to the insurgents, in case of their surrendering and returning to their allegiance. This proclamation produced an agreement between government and the chiefs of the United Irish, by which the latter and all others who should avail themselves of the offer, including Mr Oliver Bond, then under sentence of death, were to give every information concerning their transactions, and to quit the kingdom, on condition of being pardoned. The agreement was signed on the twenty-ninth of July by seventy-three persons, and six of the principal leaders, among whom were Dr M'Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, Arthur O'Connor, and Samuel Neison, who gave details on oath in

their examinations before the secret committees of both houses of parliament.

Notwithstanding this agreement, fifteen of the principal prisoners were detained in custody. Mr Oliver Bond died suddenly in prison.





## C H A P. XIV.

WHILE government was led to conclude that this bloody and desolating civil war was completely quelled, the rebellion again burst forth in a quarter where it had been least of all expected, and where not the smallest sign of disaffection had appeared. We allude to the province of Connaught. This quarter, however, was roused to insurrection by the landing in the bay of Killalla, on the twenty-second of August, of eleven hundred French troops, including seventy officers, with a considerable quantity of arms, clothing, and ammunition, under the command of general Humbert. These were disembarked from three frigates, and formed only the vanguard of that army which afterwards fell a prey to a British squadron.

The garrison of the town of Killalla, consisting of only fifty men, thirty of whom were yeomen, the remainder a detachment of the Prince of Wales fencibles, after a spirited attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, between seven and eight

o'clock of the evening of the twenty-second, were obliged to retreat with precipitation, having two of their number killed; and lieutenant Sills of the fencibles, captain Kirkwood of the yeomen, and nineteen privates taken prisoners.

“ All opposition being now at an end,” says the narrator \* of what passed at Killalla after the landing of the French troops, “ the French general marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see Mons. l'Eveque. Very fortunately for his family, and, indeed, as it afterwards appeared, for the town and neighbourhood, the bishop was tolerably fluent in the French language, having in his youth had the advantage of foreign travel. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension, himself and all his people should be treated with the most respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support : a promise which, as long as those troops continued at Killalla, was *most religiously observed*, excepting only a small sally of ill humour or roughness on the part of the commander towards the bishop, which shall be related presently.

“ In the midst of all his hurry in giving the necessary orders for landing the remainder of his force, and appointing their quarters, general Humbert found

---

\* Supposed to be the bishop of Killalla.

time that very evening to enter into a very long conversation with the bishop on the subject of his invasion, and the sanguine hopes he entertained of its speedy and complete success. Such a powerful armament was to be sent out without delay from the French ports, to second this primary adventure, that not a doubt could in reason subsist, but Ireland would be a free and happy nation, under the protection of France, within the space of a month. A directory was immediately to be set up in the province of Connaught, some of the members of which were already appointed; but there was still a place for a person of the ability and consequence of the bishop of Killalla, if he chose to embrace the fortunate opportunity at once of serving himself and liberating his country. The bishop at that time made no answer except by a bow to the personal compliment; but when the application was afterwards seriously repeated to him in their common bed-chamber, by the two principal officers, Humbert and Serrasin, he smiled, and said he had taken too many oaths of allegiance to his sovereign to have it in his power to change. They replied he was a man of honour, and that it was far from the intention of their government to force liberty upon any man.

“ The remainder of the first evening was employed in a strict examination of captain Kirkwood, the magistrate, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighbourhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers who came with the French. Mr Kirk-

wood answered with such an appearance of frankness and candour that he gained the esteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family and attend to his private affairs. But this good humour between them did not continue long. Kirkwood had a sickly wife, an amiable woman, of whom he was doatingly fond. The terror of the invasion wrought so upon her weak nerves, that after escaping on the first night to the castle, she crept away the day after to some hiding place in the mountains, four or five miles from the town, from which she sent word to her husband that she was but just alive. Attentive only to her, he forgot his parole of honour to the French; and it was not till after he had been some time by his wife's bedside, that he recollected the circumstance of his having transgressed the bounds within which he had promised to confine himself. Not knowing what punishment he might have incurred by this breach of the laws of war, he took the desperate resolution of withdrawing himself to the wild district of Erris, about ten miles from Killalla, on the sea coast, into which a carriage cannot pass, as it is a frightful track of bog and mountain, though tolerably well peopled. Here he remained several days with only one attendant, in constant dread of being robbed and murdered by the rebels, and forced to take up his residence at night in caves among the rocks, when he could not reach a smoky hut belonging to some peasant whom he could trust. At one time especially, he owed his life to the good offices of Ferdinand O'Donnel, a young man, a

tenant under the see of Killalla, who was soon to make a conspicuous figure in these troubles. O'Donnel had been employed in some little post in the revenue at Cork, whence he had lately returned to his own country, to look after his small farm, and to take care of his mother, a young brother, and sisters. He knew Mr Kirkwood; as indeed no man was better known nor more popular in all that neighbourhood, being a good-humoured man, well versed in the Irish language, and useful as a merchant conducting an extensive trade between Killalla and the Irish and English ports. With difficulty O'Donnel was able to protect the fugitive for one night only in his farm-house; but he incurred the hatred of the rebels so much for this act of humanity, that after sending away Kirkwood in the morning, he was fain to take the road to Killalla himself the same day. It is more than probable, however, that he was glad of the pretence for running to the scene of action, where his vanity whispered him, that he should find occasion to distinguish himself. Kirkwood soon after, by the help of a trusty protestant of the name of Rogers, contrived to make his situation known to the bishop, who represented the business to the French officers in such a light, as proceeding merely from inadvertence, that a passport was granted, in consequence of which, Mr Kirkwood, after many intervening perils, found means to get back to Killalla. There he had reason to mourn over the ill consequences of the hasty step he had taken, when he quitted the defence of his house and property. Enraged at his breach of parole, the French had taken

every thing they wanted out of his stores; oats, salt, and iron, to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling-house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned, he found it almost a wreck.

“ But it is time to look back to what happened at the castle in the commencement of the invasion. For a century past Ireland had known nothing of the horrors of war, but from description. Our obscure corner of the island had less reason than almost any other part to look for a disturbance from foreign enemies. Neither was there just cause of suspicion, that the county of Mayo, at least, had caught any portion of that malignant spirit of disloyalty and religious intolerance, the effects of which in the county of Wexford, we in Connaught had been lately deploring, not without a mixture of gratulation on our own escape from the like. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if taken in the midst of profound security, the inhabitants were seized with a panic, as general as it was terrible.

“ The dining-room at the castle, which a few minutes before witnessed nothing but mirth and festivity, was filled immediately, from one end to the other, with French officers and soldiers, dragging in arms and baggage, with prisoners undergoing examination; and in one part with a surgeon and assistants dressing a severe wound received in the late skirmish by a surly-looking officer of the French grenadiers. All the



lower part of the house, together with the court-yard, and offices, was occupied by the soldiery, to the number of at least three hundred. And here it would be an act of great injustice to the excellent discipline constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in our town, not to remark, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them, from a side-board of plate and glassés, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not a single particular of private property was found to have been carried away, when the owners, after the first fright was over, came to look for their effects, which was not for a day or two after the landing. Immediately upon entering the dining-room, a French officer had called for the bishop's butler, and gathering up the spoons and the glasses, had desired him to take them to his pantry.

“ On the middle floor of the new house, the drawing-room was converted into a prison for the yeomen, till they were sent on the twenty-sixth to Ballina, when it returned to the possession of the family. A store-room on the same floor was left undisturbed ; the two bed-chambers adjoining were reserved for the general and his principal officers. The attic story, containing a library and three bed-chambers, continued sacred to the bishop and his family. And so scrupulous was the delicacy of the French not to disturb the female part of the house, that not one of them was ever seen to go higher than the middle floor, except on the

evening of their success at Castlebar, when two officers begged leave just to carry to the family the news of the battle, and seemed a little mortified that the intelligence was received with an air of dissatisfaction.

“ It is not easy by any force of language to convey an adequate idea of the miseries of that first night, which succeeded to the landing of the enemy. To the terrified imaginations of the town's people, the castle instantly presented itself, as the only place where they could have a chance of safety. Thither accordingly they fled, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, forcing their way into every corner of the house and offices, occupying the stair-cases, spreading through the bed-chambers, and some of them even thrusting themselves and their children into the same beds with the infants of the bishop's family. Women that had lain sick in their beds for a month before, and one old lady past eighty, who was bed-ridden, and believed to be at the point of death, gathering strength from despair, contrived to work their way to the very top of the house. Chairs were placed round the lobby of the attic story, on which the family, with some of their principal acquaintance, remained without a thought of repose for the whole night. Indeed the leaden hand of sleep could not have closed any eye-lids but those of an infant. The whole house resounded like a bedlam with the loquacity of the Frenchmen below, and the shrieks and groans of the fugitives above. Among the last there wanted not some, who sought consolation from

the whiskey bottle, in consequence of which they became presently so clamorous and troublesome, that it was necessary to restrain them by force.

“Of the company that had dined at the castle that day, two clergymen made their escape on foot, and gained the neighbouring mountains, leaving their horses to be seized by the French. The dean of Killalla, (parish minister of the town) the rev. Thomas Thompson, brought his wife and children from his own dwelling to the castle, where they were sheltered with the cordiality due to the uncommon excellence of their character, and continued there till a gracious Providence wrought our deliverance. The bishop had every reason to rejoice, that in his distress he should have been so fortunate as to be assisted by the judgment, the steadiness, and temper, of dean Thompson and doctor Ellison. This last gentleman indeed continued with him but one week, being dismissed on his parole to Castlebar; but wherever he was, the bishop felt the beneficial effects of his active and friendly disposition. The rev. Robert Nixon, curate of the parish, a most worthy and valuable young man, was also an inmate at the castle during the whole time of the troubles. The rev. Mr Little, from the neighbouring parish, of Lackan, embraced the same asylum, after he had been driven from his parsonage by the insurgents, who left him neither house nor property. The bishop's own family consisted of himself, his lady, his sister-in-law, Mrs Cope, the rev. James Burrowes

(private tutor), a young nephew, and eleven children \*. The servants were thirteen in number.

“ On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forwards to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he mounted on the best horses he could lay his hand upon in the country. On the road he concealed under the arch of a bridge, adjoining to Killalla, a sergeant's guard, to watch the motions of any straggling party from the enemy ; a measure of prudence which proved fatal to the rev. George Fortescue (nephew to Lord Clermont) a clergyman of the diocese, of the fairest character. This young gentleman, who had been enrolled in his brother's troop, in the county of Louth, had put himself at the head of a reconnoitring party from Ballina, and falling in with the ambuscade, received a wound in his groin, of which he died in great agony, but with the most exemplary patience and resignation about nine days after. The carabineers and yeomanry of Ballina, after a short resistance, consulted their safety by flight, leaving the town and one of their company, in the hands of the French, a Newport cavalier, who was surprised in his bed before he had time to escape.

“ The person of this prisoner chancing to be large and corpulent, general Humbert chose to make a pub-

---

\* Mrs Stock had four other children abroad, two married daughters, and two officers serving in the army.

lie exhibition of him, as the *spolia opima* of his victory. Placing him therefore in his uniform, at his left hand, in a curricie drawn by two handsome horses, late the property of poor Mr Fortescue, the general rode back from Ballina into Killalla in triumph, amidst the acclamations of a crowd of peasantry, as well as of his army. The indolent captive, as he carried his eyes quietly round the throng, looked not unlike a sea-lion just awaked out of his sleep.

“In war, it is said, the first success is every thing. The maxim was at least verified here, by the instant accession of many hundreds of the country people to the cause of the French, which they affected to style the cause of Ireland and liberty. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription ERIN GO BRAGH, importing, as I am told, *Ireland for ever!* This flag was the signal to invite as many as had the spirit to assert their freedom to join a brave people, who were come for no other purpose but to make them independent and happy. The generous purpose was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing, to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was brought in voluntarily, or taken by necessity to answer the occasions of the army, should be punctually paid for in drafts on the future directory, of which the owners of the goods demanded were courteously invited to accept. For the first two or three days many

people did apply for such drafts to the French commissary of stores, whose whole time appeared to be taken up with writing them. Indeed the bishop himself was of opinion, that the losers would act wisely to accept of them ; not, as he told the people, that they would ever produce payment where it was promised, but because they might serve as documents to our own government, when at a future period it should come to inquire into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects. The trouble, however, of the commissary, in issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not of long duration. The people smiled first, and he joined in the smile himself at last, when he offered the airy security.

“ But if cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good on the spot, and to a considerable extent. Chests, containing each forty fusils, and others filled with new French uniforms, and gaudy helmits, being heaped together in the castle-yard, the first that offered their service, received complete clothing ; and these, by credible report, were about a thousand in number. The next comers, who were at least as many, had every thing but shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms colonel Charost assured the bishop not less than five thousand five hundred stand were in this place delivered out to the insurgents. The musquets were pronounced, by those who were judges of them, to be well fabricated, though their bore was too small to admit English bullets. The carabines



were remarkable for their goodness. Swords and pistols, of which there was no great plenty, were reserved as marks of distinction, to be distributed only to the rebel officers.

“ It was a melancholy spectacle to those in the castle to witness the eagerness with which the unfortunate rustics pressed forward to lay hold of these fatal trappings, the sure harbingers of their own speedy destruction. A very little penetration was required to discover the madness of expecting final success in an enterprise conducted by such a force, against an army at that time in the kingdom, of probably not less than a hundred thousand men. But though the bait was visible to people of any sense, to the multitude it certainly was in no small degree alluring.

“ The uncombed, ragged peasant, who had never before known the luxury of shoes and stockings, now washed, powdered, and full dressed, was metamorphosed into another being, the rather because the far greater part of these mountaineers were by no means deficient either in size or person. ‘ Look at these poor fellows,’ said Humbert with an air of triumph to the bishop, ‘ they are made, you find, of the same stuff with ourselves.’ A still stronger temptation offered itself, to people unaccustomed to animal food, in a full enjoyment of fresh meat. The least allowance of beef for a day was one pound to each recruit. This was devoured with an avidity that excited sometimes the mirth, sometimes the contempt of their French

associates. An officer protested, that having for curiosity trusted an Irishman at once with an allowance of eight pounds of dressed meat, he saw the creature throw himself on the ground and begin to gnaw it so eagerly, that he was sure he would not rise until he had consumed it.

“ The expectation of spoil undoubtedly came in for a full share of the inducements that prompted the indigent to shake off the restraints of civil rule, and armed him against his wealthy neighbours. It is a debt due to justice, however, to observe that if the first who joined the enemy were enticed by hope to a foreign standard, very many took the same road afterwards merely through fear. Great pains were taken by the early insurgents to frighten their neighbours into the same inclosure of peril with themselves, partly by the most horrid menaces, in case of refusal to join the common cause, and partly by spreading lies of the protestants, whom they represented as orangemen, universally bent on the excision of the catholics.

When the united weight of so many temptations is duly estimated, operating besides on a body of peasantry already estranged from their protestant neighbours by difference of religion, language, and education, it will rather be matter of surprise that so little mischief was the result of the insurrection in Connaught, and that we had not the same horrid scenes of cruelty and religious intolerance to mourn over, as had lately stamped indelible disgrace on the eastern pro-

vince. It is a circumstance worthy of particular notice, that during the whole time of this civil commotion, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war. It is true the example and influence of the French went a great way to prevent sanguinary excesses. But it will not be deemed fair to ascribe to this cause alone the forbearance of which we were witnesses, when it is considered what a range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels for several days after the French power was known to be at an end.

“ These reflections are offered to the public as an apology for the opinion of certain persons who became advocates for lenity, when, on the suppression of the rebellion, the treatment due to the insurgents was the object of discussion. Fire and sword was the language of gentlemen whose loss by the war, though grievous and highly provoking, was only the loss of property. Milder sentiments may reasonably be allowed to have place in bosoms which had throbbed with the apprehension of a greater mischief than spoliation. Experience had taught them that life is the first of worldly possessions; and having saved that blessing themselves, they could not be in haste to ravish it from others.

“ Indeed where there had appeared all along so few traces of rancour in these poor country folk, it was impossible for a spectator of their actions not to pity them for their very simplicity. It was such that even

the serious situation in which we were placed was frequently insufficient to repress our laughter at it. The coxcombrery of the young peasants in their new dress ; the mixture of good humour and contempt in the weather-beaten countenances of the French, employed in making puppies of them ; the haste of the undressed to be as fine as their neighbours, casting away their old clothes long before it came to be their turn to receive the new ; above all, the merry activity of a handsome young fellow, a marine officer, whose business it was to consummate the vanity of the recruits, by decorating them with helmets beautifully edged with spotted brown paper, to look like leopard's skin, a task which he performed standing on a powder barrel, and making the helmet fit any skull, even the largest, by thumping it down with his fists, careless whether it could ever be taken off again—these were circumstances that would have made you smile, though you had been just come from seeing your house in flames. A spectacle not less provoking to mirth presented itself to your view, if you followed the new soldiers after they had received their arms and cartridges, and observed their manner of using them. It was common with them to put in their cartridges at the wrong end, and when they stuck in the passage (as they often did) the inverted barrel was set to work against the ground, till it was bent and useless. At first they were trusted with balls as well as with powder. But this practice was not repeated, after it had gone near costing his life to general Humbert. As he was standing at an open window in the castle, the ge-

neral heard a ball whistle by his ear, discharged by an awkward recruit in the yard below, whom he instantly punished with an unmerciful caning. The ball passed into the ceiling, where the mark of it is still apparent. Lastly, it was quite unsuitable to the spirit of these rustic warriors to keep their firelocks idle till they should come in sight of an enemy, when there were so many inferior animals on which they might be tried. A crowd got about Charost one day, clamouring for a supply of powder and shot. ‘Tell them,’ said the commandant, in a passion, ‘they shall have no more, till I am sure they will not waste their charges upon ravens.’

“The French, it is well known, are a nation ready enough to consider themselves superior to any people in the world; but here indeed it would have been ridiculous not to prefer the Gallic troops in every respect before their new allies. Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet if you except their grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse of the wear: to a superficial observer, they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed, that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their

bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no covering but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy under Bonaparte; the rest were from the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses that well accounted for thin persons and wan looks. Several of them declared with all the marks of sincerity, that at the siege of Mentz, during the preceding winter, they had for a long time slept on the ground in holes made four feet deep under the snow. And an officer, pointing to his leather small-clothes, assured the bishop, that he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.

“Humbert, the leader of this singular body of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage as any in his army. Of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy, (the effect probably of much watching) cast a side-long glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty: it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how, (as most of his countrymen do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he scarcely had sufficient to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence.



A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover, that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands. Of this truth the bishop himself was one of the first who had occasion to be made sensible.

“Boats were necessary to transport the artillery and stores from the ships, cars and horses to forward them by land; and these were to be procured without delay, the life of the present enterprise consisting in dispatch. High prices were offered; but the fishermen of Killalla at first kept out of the way; and of the cars none could be got, but what were seized at the first onset. Application, therefore, was made to the bishop, whose answer was (what was really true) that he had no authority in that place, civil or personal; that he was not a magistrate, nor had time to be acquainted with the people, having settled himself in the town, from another part of the kingdom, only a few months before. Humbert replied, that he should not have troubled his lordship, if the proper magistrate had not fled, in violation of his parole; that he cared little, by what means the bishop should contrive to get him what he wanted; but as he was the principal inhabitant, he must and would charge him with the office of producing boats and cars, and that by the very next morning. The bishop, in Humbert's presence, desired his people to go out into the town, and try to convince the inhabitants that the general's orders must be obeyed.

“ Next morning, when neither boat nor car appeared, Humbert became furious. He poured forth a torrent of vulgar abuse, roared, stamped, laid his hand frequently upon a scymitar that battered the ground, presented a pistol at the bishop’s eldest son, and at last told the bishop himself, that he would make him sensible he was not to be trifled with, for he would punish his disobedience by sending him instantly to France. Orders to this effect were given on the spot to an officer, who delivered him in charge to a corporal’s guard, only allowing him time to put on his hat. The inhabitants stared in silence, as they saw the bishop conducted on foot through the town. The French soldiers marched him at a good pace along the road that led to the ships, and seemed to have received orders not to answer any of his questions.

“ When they had advanced about half a mile, and were beginning to pass a hill that would have concealed the town from their view, they were overtaken by an express on horseback, with the general’s orders to return. On entering the castle, the bishop was hailed with the gratulations of the French officers, and excuses for the conduct of their commander, a hasty man they said, but very good natured. Humbert himself received him on the stairs with an apology for what he had done, pleading necessity, a plea which was readily admitted. Indeed the bishop had felt no apprehension at any time, that the menace would be seriously carried into effect. He knew the French could not want his presence, nor his assistance as an

interpreter; and he saw, through its disguise, the real object of Humbert's affected fury, which ended as that officer had expected, in the immediate appearance of the people of whom he was in search. The bishop's danger, if there was any, was so quickly over, that happily the greater part of his family knew nothing of it till it was past.

“ Scarcely, however, had he got clear of one disagreeable business, when another was thrown in his way. Every thing being ready for a march by Saturday the twenty-fifth, the French general determined to leave behind him at Killalla two hundred of his own soldiers, under the command of half a dozen officers, to secure himself a retreat, in case of miscarriage, to his ammunition, a large proportion of which, to the amount of two hundred and eighty barrels of a hundred pounds each, could not be forwarded for want of the means of conveyance. But this was not the ostensible reason for leaving the men. It was pretended, that they were suffered to remain out of pure compassion to the protestants of the vicinity, whose lives might be in danger from the new levies, while the French were elsewhere employed. Hostages therefore must be taken at least as far as Ballina, in exchange for the six officers that should be left to keep the peace at Killalla; and the bishop was given to understand, that he himself, and one of his sons, must make a part of the number. Remonstrances were vain. The bishop found himself obliged to com-

municate the unwelcome tidings to the family, and to order his chaise for the following morning.

“ At no one period of their calamity, perhaps, did the patience of the women sustain a ruder assault. To be separated, under such circumstances, for a time unknown, perhaps for ever (for it was then said and believed, that the hostages were destined to follow every where the camp and fortunes of the invaders) this was bitter news. Mrs Thompson, the dean’s lady, sunk under it into a swoon: advanced in her pregnancy, she had nerves that did not keep pace with the excellent temper of her mind. Mrs Stock and Mrs Cope said nothing. But the eye that met theirs during that scene of anguish, feels a dimness at the reviewal of it.

“ Next morning (Sunday) the prospect cleared up a little, though still unpleasant. The general had changed his mind, and would accept of the bishop’s eldest son in place of the father. It was a strange alleviation of pain, to be derived from exposing to danger a son, who had found favour with every body that knew him, as well as with his parents. But the youth (a college lad under nineteen) thought nothing of a danger from which his father was exempted, and went off cheerfully with the other four hostages, whom the bishop was ordered to nominate; for Humbert had consented to take but one of the sons instead of two. The four named were John Knox, esq. of Bartrach, Thomas Kirkwood, lieutenant of the Tyrawley cavalry;

James Rutledge, custom-house officer ; and the curate, Mr Nixon.

“ With a levity which seemed to mark the general tenor of his conduct, Humbert signified to the hostages, presently after their arrival at Ballina, that they were at liberty to go home again. He himself marched his forces directly towards Castlebar, leaving one Truc, an ignorant brutal officer, with a few French, and a rabble of the Irish, to retain possession of Ballina. Truc would not confirm the indulgence granted by the general, till the day following ; so that the five gentlemen passed a most unquiet night amidst a crew of drunken and insolent rebels, with scarcely any accommodation. The horses on which they rode to Ballina, were not to be found next day ; but the hostages were glad to find their way back again on foot.

“ The charge of Killalla, with the title of commandant, was committed to M. Charost, *chef de demi-brigade*, which answers to our title of lieutenant-colonel. The choice proved a fortunate one for the town ; Charost being a man of sense and honour, in short, in every respect the opposite of Truc. This officer began his command by obliging the bishop so far as to grant a passport to captain Hill, the worthy register of the diocese, empowering him to go home to Limerick. By him the bishop found the much-desired opportunity of conveying a letter to his friends in Dublin, the only one they received from him till

the town was recovered. A verbal account, however, of the family, was carried to Dublin by doctor Ellison, who got leave from Charost, on the twenty-ninth, to return to Castlebar, from which town he followed his lady and family to the capital. Mr John Thompson, the dean's brother, was permitted, at the same time with doctor Ellison, to go to his house in Castlebar, where he hospitably entertained the bishop's son Arthur, when he was presently after sent to the same town in quality of hostage.

“ Though the enemy took away nothing with them, when they moved, but what was necessary for their operations in the field, yet that necessity was found to comprehend the best part of what the country possessed, whether of stock or victuals. The bishop's larder and cellar, both plentifully stored at that season, scarcely sufficed for three days. Every thing that he had in the fields disappeared: corn, potatoes, cattle, were all wanted, and taken from *him*, before any thing was touched that belonged to the poor. Of his kitchen grate so incessant use was made, from early morning even to midnight, that the chimney was on fire more than once, and in the middle of summer, above thirty tons of coals lasted only one month. His stables yielded nine horses of his own (most of them good ones) with proper furniture; and his guests contributed about half a dozen more. The coach-house was stript of nothing but harness; those brave officers despising the luxury of a chaise. Cars, carts, and a large waggon, with their furniture, went of course.



In three days he had lost to the value of six hundred pounds. But it was clear, that even this damage was nothing in comparison of what he must have sustained, if he had fled, (as he was advised, and even offered the means to do) on the first approach of the French. The ruin of his house and furniture, both valuable, would have been the consequence; not to speak of the mischiefs throughout the neighbourhood, which he was happy enough by his presence and exertions to avert."



## C H A P. XV.

ON the twenty-fourth of August, Lord Cornwallis received intelligence of the landing of the French troops, and immediately ordered a force, which was thought to be more than sufficient for the purpose, to proceed to that quarter. Major-general Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, from Galway, and was joined the following night by lieutenant-general Lake, who had been ordered by lord Cornwallis to take the command of the forces assembled in Connaught, to oppose the French army. The forces then collected amounted to between three and four thousand men; yet the generals did not wish to attack the enemy until more forces arrived; therefore intended to remain at Castlebar a few days. General Humbert wisely chose the offensive rather than the defensive part in the attack; and accordingly marched with the utmost diligence to attack the forces at Castlebar, and would have surprised the king's army before daylight, had it not been for the extreme ruggedness of the roads by which he advanced.

Very few of the inhabitants joined the French on their landing at Killalla; but when the latter gained possession of Ballina, great numbers flocked to their standard, and received the arms and clothing which had been sent for them by the French government.

In order to excite rebellion before too powerful an army could possibly be collected to overwhelm him, general Humbert determined to attack the forces at Castlebar; he therefore commenced his march early in the morning of the twenty-sixth, with about eight hundred French troops, and near two thousand of the Irish peasantry. Instead of the common road which goes through the town of Foxford, where general Taylor, with a body of troops, had been stationed, to watch the movements of the enemy, Humbert advanced over mountains which had hitherto been deemed impassable to an army, and where his further progress might have been stopped by a single company, with two pieces of artillery, at a place called the gap of Barnageehy, six miles from Castlebar, had our army been apprised of his approach in that direction. The artillery of the invaders consisted of only two small curriele guns, the carriage of one of which had broke down, owing to the ruggedness of the road, and caused a considerable delay in their march, which was very fortunate for our army.

At two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh, information was received at Castlebar, of the approach of the enemy through the mountains. At

seven they were within three miles of the town. Our army was immediately drawn up in an advantageous position, with fourteen pieces of artillery, between the town and the assailants. The royal army was greatly superior to that of the French, both in numbers and freshness of the men, who were free from fatigue, while the enemy were almost exhausted with scrambling over the mountains, near twenty hours, without repose, from which circumstance our troops promised themselves an easy victory. In the beginning of the action, appearances were favourable to their expectations, as the enemy were three times driven back by the fire of our artillery, which was well managed under the directions of captain Shortall. These veterans, however, were determined not to retreat; though from the appearance and excellent disposition of our army, they expected nothing but to be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and as the Irish insurgents were as yet of little or no use to them in an engagement. The enemy then filed away in small parties, both to the right and left, as if they intended to attack our troops in flank, and some of them advanced to the left, so as almost to touch the points of the bayonets of the Frazer fencibles. The French had lost many of their number, principally by the fire of our artillery, and had fired very few shots, when the royal army, seized with an unaccountable panic, broke on all sides, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the officers, and retreated in the greatest confusion into the town, and when the enemy advanced they fled on the road to Tuam.

A small party of French soldiers pursued the flying army upwards of a mile from the town, when a party of lord Roden's cavalry wheeled and cut them down.

Still our army seemed panic struck, and retreated so precipitately as to reach the town of Tuam, thirty miles from Castlebar, in the evening of the same day, and after a short refreshment, retired still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of cavalry, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the twenty-ninth; having performed a march of sixty-three miles in twenty-seven hours!

Our army lost fourteen pieces of artillery in this unexpected defeat; four of which were currie guns. The loss of men was stated at fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy-nine missing. Among the wounded were two lieutenants and three sergeants; and among the missing were two staff-officers, two majors, three captains, six lieutenants, three ensigns, ten sergeants, and two drummers.

“A melancholy proof, that treason had a hand in the success of the French at Castlebar, was soon exhibited in the bishop's court-yard. Fifty-three deserters from the Longford militia marched in, amidst the shouts of the multitude, with their coats turned, and there exchanged the uniforms given them by their sovereign, for the blue coats of France! It was a strange sight, and to protestant spectators, most pro-

voking. To comfort the bishop, the commissary made him a present of the deserters' uniforms. He took the gift, foreseeing that he should ere long find naked bodies in plenty to cover with them. Report said, that in a few days the rebel camp at Killalla was joined by fourscore more deserters from the Longford and Kilkenny militia. Not a man of these infamous betrayers of their king and country returned alive to his home.

“From the day that succeeded the battle of Castlebar, August twenty-eight, suspense was kept alive at Killalla, by the report of cannon on the inland side, and by the appearance of a squadron of frigates in the offing, which were called French or English according to the wishes of the spectators. These ships varied in number, from one or two to five, appearing irresolute what course to take, till at length three \* went off towards Sligo; a fourth, of thirty-two guns, with a cutter of sixteen, continuing hovering in the bay, and was at one time near losing her cutter on the bar. The French cherished hopes that it might be the squadron they expected from Brest, till on the thirtieth they saw the single frigate send out her boats to destroy two trading vessels, of which the French had taken pos-

---

\* “These were, as we learned afterwards, the *Doris*, of thirty-six guns, Lord Ranelagh; the *Melampus*, ditto, capt. Moore; and the *Fox* cutter, of twelve guns, lieutenant Walsh. The vessels that stayed were the *Cerberus*, thirty-two guns, 18-pounders, captain M'Namara, and the *Hurler* cutter, captain J. Norway, carrying sixteen carronades, 18-pounders.”



session, one to transport their ammunition, just landed, the other to supply the town with forty ton of oatmeal. The crew of this last, seven Frenchmen, were carried to the frigate. The two sloops continued burning all night, and part of the next day. Some of the poor town's-people, venturing to board the oatmeal sloop, to save what they could of so tempting a provision, narrowly escaped death by an eighteen-pounder from the frigate.

“As long as the two hundred French soldiers were suffered to remain for the defence of Killalla, the protestant inhabitants felt themselves perfectly secure, the number of insurgents, that poured in from the country to a camp they formed in the bishop's demesne, increased every hour. The case was sadly altered from the first of September. On that day the commandant showed the bishop an order he had received from general Humbert to send away immediately to Castlebar the whole French garrison of Killalla, none excepted, but M. Charost himself, and another officer of the name of Ponson. These two were to keep the town with about two hundred of the Irish recruits.

“All the horrors, that had been acted at Wexford, now stared the loyalists in the face. ‘Famished wolves are closing us in on every side,’ said they to Charost, ‘and what can two men effect, though ever so brave and vigilant?’ The commandant desired.

them to be quiet, assuring them that he would part with his own life sooner than abandon them ; but he told the bishop, that as, by staying here to protect the protestants, he ran the hazard of losing his own liberty, he thought it but reasonable that one of the bishop's sons should go with the troops to Castlebar, to be an hostage for his person, in case of the English becoming again masters of Killalla. To this the bishop could not object. His second and third sons, therefore, drew lots, and the chance falling on Arthur, the third son, a lad just sixteen, he was sent away about seven in the evening, on a poor jade ill accoutred, to travel all night with the French. From that day till the engagement at Killalla, about three weeks after, his parents could hear nothing from him, nor he from them ; so strictly were the passes guarded.

“ Immediately after the departure of the foreigners, the commandant applied himself to make provision for the security of the district entrusted to him. A strong patr le, in different bodies, was ordered to parade through the town and its environs, to the distance of three miles, every night. But as reports of robberies and midnight assaults came in continually, M. Charost thought it advisable to issue a proclamation, inviting all the inhabitants, without distinction of religion or party, to come to him, and receive arms and ammunition for their own defence, under no other condition than a promise of restoring them to him when he should call for them. The offer was presently embraced by the towns' people, especially by the

protestant part of them, who were most exposed to danger, and had been forced, at the beginning of the invasion, to deliver up their arms to the French. A distribution accordingly began to be made in the castle-yard, on the evening of September first.

“ The commandant had now an opportunity of judging, whether the fears of the protestants from their popish neighbours were justly founded. As the patrolle was setting at that time, the rebels, (all romanists) began to murmur at trusting arms to the protestant townsmen, which they were sure, they said, would be employed against the French and their allies the moment an English force appeared. Nor did the mutineers want a leader. One Mulheeran, a rebel officer, was their spokesman, a strong-made young fellow, who defended himself afterwards like a lion at the battle of Killalla against three or four troopers, all cutting him with their swords, and did not fall till his skull was hacked to pieces. This man resisted the commandant to his face, and went so far as to throw down the arms he had received from the French, when Charost told him he would trust all alike with arms, who chose to take a musquet in their own defence. The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malecontents, amidst darkness and clamour, and the confusion of three languages.

“ After an hour's struggle, several of the protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and said they would trust

themselves to the protection of the patrol; which put an end, for that night, to the disturbance.

“ It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence; till at length the protestants, harassed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any person's appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stript of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killalla, to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed, but some house was rifled; scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection. Willing to do his best, he interpreted, he drew up petitions, he dispatched guards to protestant families in the neighbourhood, he went from house to house in the town to inquire after abuses, till in the evening always, and frequently in the day time, he was forced to throw himself on a bed, unable to keep his feet. Yet his health and appetite seemed to be improved by the extraordinary fatigue, nor did he ever in his life sleep better.

“ But if it was doubtful whether arms might safely be committed to every inhabitant of Killalla, it admitted no dispute at all that the town could not exist without some form of civil government. Depreda-

tors crowded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body who had property, whether catholic or protestant. The French, it was said, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into districts, appointing over each a municipal officer, with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the scheme had there had the desired success. A proclamation was therefore issued for establishing a similar form through the canton over which Charost presided. The country was thrown into departments; a magistrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of sixteen or twenty men; arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation that neither officers nor men should be marched out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any service except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killalla was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant to the orders of Mr James Devitt, the civil magistrate, unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman catholic, and a man of sense and moderation. He had under him two assistants of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent if the French power had been firmer.

“ The example of Killalla was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them, persons who had no desire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion, whether they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was that he was no lawyer: but having always found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say there could be no law forbidding to do, under these circumstances, what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported that, when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine: it might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not sound, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct which, in the fulness of security, they take upon them to condemn. To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one to preserve the peace of a community, provided by so doing you do not preclude yourself from returning under the government of a



king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable English law.

“ For the defence of the castle, which was declared to be the head-quarters of the allied army, a guard was drawn from the garrison, consisting of from sixteen to twenty men, who were seldom relieved above once in twenty-four hours. Of these four watched at the commandant's door, in the lobby of the middle storey ; four were placed in the hall ; the rest were distributed at the gates in back and front, which had luckily been repaired and made secure by the bishop just before the invasion. Policy concurred with charity in recommending these poor guards to our daily care : they were fed and lodged so much better than any other soldiers that it occasioned quarrels and boxings among them sometimes, for a preference to be stationed on the castle-guard. And indeed they repaid the attention shewn to them by every mark of respect in their power, and by assisting in little menial offices in and about the house wherever they were wanted.

“ Yet was the presence of such protectors a circumstance to the family most dreadful. The gates, the doors, every thing within as well as without, our very existence was in custody of a band of rebels, who had the power at any instant to throw open the house to their companions abroad, and let in depredation at least, if nothing worse. And this was a mischief, too, that happened not unfrequently. At Castle-lac-

ken, Castlereagh, and other houses belonging to protestants, where guards had been stationed, the soldiers proved traitors and admitted others from without to plunder the families they were sent to defend. If plunder was attractive, few houses offered more temptations in that way than the bishop's, not only because it contained much valuable property of his own, but because, in spite of prudence, he could not refuse to let it become the repository of other people's goods. Plate, cash, leases, and writings of consequence, were crowded in upon him, with an eagerness that would take no denial, and with too little caution to render the affair a secret. The commandant was made acquainted with these several causes of apprehension, on our part, and distrust of his Irish friends. He made light of them for a long time, in a real or seeming confidence of retaining his authority over the rebels; though, as the final period of our captivity approached, his looks, as well as his redoubled precautions, shewed that he began to be almost as uneasy as ourselves.

“ The commandant and the bishop, finding each other to be honest men, above the meanness of deceit, soon came to a mutual good understanding. Charost trusted the bishop with a sight of a letter from general Humbert to himself, ordering him either to bury privately the powder left in his care, or to throw it into the sea, according as he should find it most prudent and feasible. As to conveying two hundred and eighty barrels of powder from the castle-yard to the sea,

through the midst of armed rebels, eagerly bent on seizing the powder for their own use, it required not many words to shew the extreme improbability of effecting such a scheme. It remained, therefore, to bury it, and that in some place within the walls of the castle, sufficient to contain and hide it. With the help of some labourers who continued faithful to him, and of his own domestics, the bishop contrived in several night's continual work, to bury ninety barrels under a hot-bed in the garden: the remainder, was committed to a vault in the haggard under the corn-stand, where, though it could not be said to be concealed, it was at least secured as far as might be, under the given circumstances, from the dreaded danger of firing by accident.

“ No less than three times, during our troubles, was this danger on the point of being realized. The first time was in the French reign, when the kitchen chimney was set on fire by the immoderate use of the grate, as I mentioned above. On the second occasion, we were saved only by the providential direction of the wind from catching the flames of a cabin just beside us, which was fired by the king's troops when they entered the town on the twenty-third of September. The third was the most alarming danger of all. On the evening of that same remarkable twenty-third of September, an honest inoffensive labourer of the bishop's quitted the castle to oblige his wife to stay within doors, who, with the fears of a woman great with child, was running wildly about the road in the midst

of the fire from the army. He had seized her hand, and was hurrying her to his cabin, when a discharge of musquetry killed the man, and mortally wounded the woman. She was carried up to the granary in the castle, where she died that night. Without leave asked, without even apprising the family that they had brought the woman into the house, the foolish people about her began to wake the corpse, by lighting a fire on the floor of the granary, with nothing under the turf but a wooden board. Presently smoke and flames were seen to roll out of the windows of an apartment distant but a few yards from the gunpowder in the haggard, and the wind pointing directly that way. At the same instant all was confusion and uproar in the house: the victorious army was marching into quarters at Killalla, and the principal officers were busy in arranging matters for their own accommodation at the castle. It cost the bishop some labour to make the gentlemen listen to the story, and believe, that if they did not bestir themselves, the town and all its contents would very probably in a few minutes be erased from the face of the earth. By the active exertions principally of the knight of Kerry, the fire was soon after got under.

“ From the time the French left us to the care of M. Charost, he and two officers under him, messed with the bishop’s family, where they were very welcome, being, under Providence, their sole protectors in the midst of so many perils. Whatever could be effected by vigilance, resolution, and conduct, for

the safety of a place confided to them, was to a surprising degree effected for the district of Killalla by these three French officers, without the support of a single soldier of their own country ; and that for the long space of twenty-three days, from the first of September to the day of the battle. It is natural to suppose, that in such a tract of time, a tolerable insight must have been obtained into their characters ; and where the part they acted was of so much consequence, the reader may expect some description of them.

“ Lieutenant colonel Charost had attained to the age of five-and-forty. He was born in Paris, the son (as I am told) of a watchmaker in that city, who sent him over early to some connections in St Domingo, where he was fortunate enough to marry a wife with a plantation for her dowry, which yielded him, before the troubles, an income of two thousand pounds sterling per annum. By the unhappy war which still desolates that island, he lost every thing, even to his wife and his only child, a daughter ; they were taken on their passage to France, and sent away to Jamaica. His eyes would fill when he told the family, that he had not seen these dear relatives for six years past, nor even had tidings of them for the last three years. On returning to France, he embraced the military life, at first in the royal service, afterwards, when the times changed, in that of the republic, where he had risen by degrees to the rank he now filled. His residence had been at Rochelle with a brother, with whom he

had shared bed and board till he was called, at only three days' notice, to go out on the present expedition. In person he was strong and vigorous, inclining to fat ; his countenance was chearful, and on the whole, pleasing, notwithstanding a blemish in one eye ; he had a plain, good understanding, which served him for all the uses that he put it to, and he had either no leisure, or no liking, to strain it with over labour. His religion, he told the bishop, he had yet to seek ; because his father being a catholic, and his mother a protestant, they had left him the liberty of choosing for himself, and he had never yet found time to make the inquiry, which however, he was sensible he ought to make, and would make at some time when Heaven should grant him repose. In the interim, he believed in God, was inclined to think there must be a future state, and was very sure that, while he lived in this world, it was his duty to do all good to his fellow-creatures that he could. The bishop offered a present to this half-christian of a book that might have satisfied his doubts, *La religion naturelle et revelee par l' Abbe Tremblay*. He was thankful ; but it is not unlikely the sight even of three small volumes frightened him, for he never afterwards claimed the promise. Yet what he did not exhibit in his own conduct, he appeared to respect in others ; for he took care that no noise nor disturbance should be made in the castle on Sundays, while the family and many protestants from the town were assembled in the library at their devotions.



“ Boudet, the next in rank to the commandant, was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy, twenty-eight years of age. His father, he said, was yet living, though sixty-seven years old when he was born. His height was six feet, two inches. In person, complexion, and gravity, he was no inadequate representation of the Knight of La Mancha, whose example he followed in a recital of his own prowess and wonderful exploits, delivered in measured language, and an imposing seriousness of aspect. He came to Killallā from the town of Newport-Pratt, which he assured us he had taken with his own hand, though defended by four English troopers; he had gallantly kept the place for three or four days, and retired from it only because it was assailed by fifteen horse—but we were not to be surprised that so much should be achieved by an officer, bred in the echole Militaire at Paris to be one of the late King’s body-guard, trained from his childhood to arms, a man who had served in Flanders and on the Rhine, and had more than once been obliged to trample on mountains of dead and dying men after a battle. To vanity he added a fault that does not often go along with it, pride. He valued himself on an education superior to that of his companions in arms; was argumentative, contradictory, and irascible; so that his superior officer found it no easy matter to maintain peace with him. His manner, however, though distant, was polite; and he seemed to possess a more than common share of feeling, if a judgment might be formed from the energy with which he de-claimed on the miseries of wars and revolutions. His

integrity and courage appeared unquestionable. On the whole, when we became familiarized to his failings, we saw reason every day to respect his virtues.

“ The last of this trio was named Ponson, a curious contrast, in every respect, to the character just described. In stature he did not exceed five feet, six inches ; but if the body was little, it was alive from head to foot. Navarre gave him birth, the country of Henry IV. and his merry countenance recalled to mind the features of that celebrated monarch, though without the air of benevolence through them ; for this monkey seemed to have no great feeling for any body but himself. Wherever he was, his presence was testified by a noise as loud and as pertinacious as that of a corn-creek ; it was a continued roll of talk, or laughter, or whistling. The decencies of polished life he had probably never known ; or if he had, he affected to despise them. Yet in a gloomy hour this eternal rattle had its use : it more than once kept our spirits buoyant, when terror pressed heaviest. I shall mention two instances. One day a crowd of pikemen, clamorous with some insolent demand upon the commandant, appeared on the point of breaking down the castle gate. The bishop expressed his apprehensions to Ponson. ‘ I will tell you what to do,’ said he : ‘ step out among them suddenly, and cry *stop thief*, and they will every man of them take to their heels.’ The other occasion was that very serious one, when (as shall be related presently) the news of the French overthrow had weakened the authority of the commandant to

that degree, that the rebels were deterred from laying hands on the protestants at Killalla only by the bishop's proposals of sending ambassadors to Castlebar, to obtain good treatment for the rebel prisoners there. The bishop and the commandant stood outside at the gate, close circled by malecontents ; authority and argument had been tried by turns, mutinous whispers were going round, the final issue of the parley was very uncertain. At this critical moment appeared Ponson, coming in from the town, with a face expressive of horror. ' Commandant,' said he, ' I have a shocking piece of news to tell you.' What news ? said the other, who was not in a very good humour to listen to any news. ' I am married,' cried Ponson—' married, ' I give you my oath, to miss such a one,' naming the prettiest girl in the town. ' This here wicked curate,' (Mr Nixon, whom he held by the arm,) ' has ' tied the knot, before I could find out what he was ' about.' This ridiculous sally, when explained to the by-standers, relaxed the features of the whole company ; scowling looks were dropt, and peace and mutual agreement succeeded.

“ Ponson was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. A continued watching of five days and nights together, when the rebels were growing desperate for prey and mischief, did not appear to sink his spirits in the smallest degree. He was ready at a moment's notice to sally out upon the marauders, whom, if he caught them in the fact, he belaboured without mercy, and without a symptom

of fear for his own safety. Tied to a sword as long as himself, and armed with pistols, firelock and bayonet, he stretched himself up to view till he became terrific—at least he frightened many a tall peasant most heartily. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies, for whom he could not find names sufficiently expressive of contempt. The worst part of his character was that which related to religion. The commandant reported him to be a downright athiest. In his practice he went beyond the common herd of the French army, who, though they shewed no desire to join in worship with any people (a circumstance frightful to all, and astonishing to the Roman catholics) yet respected the devotions of their neighbours. Ponson was a stouter sinner. The first time he dined with the family at the castle, the bishop observing him suddenly to quit the room, asked the commandant what he meant. ‘You will hardly believe,’ said Charost, ‘that your saying grace to your meat appeared to him an action so very ridiculous, that as he knew it would be ill-manners to laugh, he was forced to leave the table till he could suppress the emotion.’ In fact the bishop did *not* believe it; but in his own mind attributed the action to a more probable cause, vanity: the miserable affectation of appearing to be more wicked than he really was.

“With these three Frenchmen was sometimes joined an officer of theirs from Ballina, who bore the title

of Major O'Keon. A native of our barony of Tyrawley, O'Keon had received his education for the priesthood in France, and had attained to a benefice of some value in the church, when the revolution, stripping him at once of profession and livelihood, forced him to become a soldier for bread. The common road to a commission in the French armies is now, I understand, length of service in the ranks. By service O'Keon was become either a major or a captain, for he was called indifferently by both names. He was a fat, jolly looking man, with a ruddy countenance that carried nothing forbidding in it, except that his black thick eye-brows ran into each other, as they often do in aboriginal Irish faces. Of the English tongue he retained enough to be quite intelligible; and being also expert in Irish as well as French, he was able to render considerable service to his cause. His connections with this neighbourhood (for he had a father and two brothers near Ballina, heartily affected to the French) induce a strong suspicion of the truth of a story which he gave out when he first landed, and to which he adhered to the last, that his being destined to this expedition was an accident, and that the squadron itself which brought him over, was intended to invade, not Killalla, but Donegall. From his conversation, the bishop had conceived a good opinion of this man. His language breathed nothing but mildness and liberality; and indeed his behaviour was suitable, for he exerted himself on all occasions to protect the loyalists, and frequently with the greatest effect. At one time particularly, he is

said to have prevailed on an armed mob at Ballina to drop their declared purpose of marching to Killalla to have all the protestants there imprisoned: it is even added, that he turned them back after they had actually advanced a part of the way. This conduct, whether he adopted it from principle or policy, contributed more, than his proving himself to be a naturalized Frenchman, to save his life afterwards on his court-martial at Castlebar. He escaped with some difficulty, with the help of an attestation in his behalf from the bishop among many others, and being forbid ever to return to the British territories, he expressed in Dublin, and afterwards by letter from Yarmouth, the highest sense of his obligations to the bishop. It is painful to add, that experience and further inquiry into the character of this quondam priest has convinced his benefactor, that the man was deficient both in morals and common honesty.

“ Before Humbert had quitted Killalla, a person came to him from Ballina, of the name of Bellew. He was brother to Dr Bellew, the titular bishop of the see, and by his own report was not long since come from abroad to recover a patrimony, from the possession of which he was unjustly detained by his brother. To the loyalists he protested, that the prospect of being enabled to take vengeance on this brother, was his chief inducement for joining the French: to general Humbert he urged the merit of his military knowledge, acquired by eighteen years service under the emperor. He was taken by the general at his word,



and presently received from him a pompous commission to be generalissimo of all the allies of France, levied and to be levied within a district extending from Ballina to Westport. It appeared in the sequel, how little the French regarded their own commissions to Irishmen; for this man presently shewing by his behaviour that he was a beastly drunkard almost to lunacy, Charost turned him out of his office with disgrace, in the face of the rebel army, without waiting for Humbert's orders, and gave the charge of the levies to O'Donnel. As long as he had any authority, *M. le general* Bellew was a sad nuisance to the people of Killalla, particularly to the family of Mr Owen Morrison, a worthy and very respectable protestant merchant, at whose house he chose to take up his quarters. He there lived as in a conquered country, extorting by threats from his hosts whatever he wanted, even to wearing apparel, getting drunk continually, lighting his pipe with paper torn from the walls of his apartment, and laying a heavy tax on the sight and smell of every body that approached him, being to the last degree filthy in his person, and eaten up with the itch. When he got any fresh clothing, his practice was to put it over the old habiliments; so that he wore two or three shirts, and a pair of satin small-clothes, of Mr Morrison's when he was hanged. For to this catastrophe the wretched creature deservedly came at last. He was taken at the battle of Killalla, tried by the court-martial, and executed two days after in the bishop's demesne.

“Bad as the situation of the owners of the castle during their captivity appeared to be, it must be confessed it was in many respects far better than that of the town’s people. The castle, being head-quarters, was regularly supplied with provisions, drawn from the plunder of the country ; and the presence of the French officers, added to the large family always resident in it, left little room for intruders from the rebel army. In the town the case was different. There a scarcity next to famine soon appeared ; rapine, the only source of subsistence, often failed of success ; in consequence every petty fellow, who could by theft or violence provide himself with a sword and a case of pistols, immediately took the name and authority of an officer, and lived (especially in protestant houses, which were almost the only decent ones) at his discretion. Personal injuries, indeed, were rare, because the municipal power was always at hand to restrain or punish them ; but insolence and avarice had their full swing. In popular commotions it has generally been observed, that natural talents go but a little way to procure influence ; the leader of a mob is almost invariably the man that outgoes all the rest in wickedness and audacity. An example, in proof of this observation, occurred on the morning of the sixth of September.

“The castle family were assembled at tea, and Mrs Stock and the commandant amusing themselves (as well as they could with two separate languages) at a party of picquet, when word was brought that a Mr

Goodwin, a protestant of the town, had just been sent to prison by major Flanagan, without a shadow of reason, and that he must remain in custody till the morning, unless the commandant would come to his aid. This pretended major was a drunken daring wretch, who had kept an ale-house at Killalla, and was but lately returned from the gaol of Castlebar, where he had been confined on a charge of treason, and narrowly escaped transportation. The company rose, and the gentleman accompanied the commandant to the scene of disturbance, Mr Morrison's house, the bishop himself thinking the occasion of that nature as to demand some risk of his own person. At the door, where a great crowd had assembled, they found Flanagan on horseback, drunk and very noisy. The commandant, by his interpreter the bishop, asked the man his authority for committing people to prison, commanded him to go and discharge his prisoner, and was answered saucily, that he would not let Goodwin stir from the prevot that night, let who would order it. It was a very serious crisis. There was just light enough to discern in the faces of the surrounding multitude a doubt, a wavering between the two contending parties, which would probably be decided in favour of that which stood firmest to its point. Bellew, the mock general, took the part of his fellow-drunkard, entreating him in a wheedling tone to give a promise that he would set the prisoner at liberty in the morning.

“Most of the spectators were armed. Had a spirit

of mischief prompted any one of them to raise his weapon against the commandant and his company, a general massacre and anarchy would most probably have followed. Charost was sensible that all depended on steadiness. With a strong and firm tone he commanded Flanagan to quit his horse. The culprit, looking round for help, and seeing none, obeyed. He was then deliberately stript by the commandant himself of his pistols and sword, and put under arrest for disobeying the orders of his superior officer, when he was first spoken to. The place of his confinement, it was supposed, would, for that night at least, be the house near which they were standing, and already Flanagan's comrades, under a shew of respect for the arrest, were leading him into Mr Morrison's, when the bishop hastily interposing cried out to the commandant not to let him go. The hint was taken, for the fellow would surely have been liberated as soon as we had turned our backs. Charost took his arm, the tall Norman marched before him, Ponson strutted behind, supported by the castle gentry, and the procession arrived without let or molestation at the guard-room by the castle gate, where the mutineer was ordered to take up his quarters for the night. The crowd then dispersed; Goodwin was set at liberty; and after a two hours' confinement Mr Toby Flanagan was allowed to go about his business, divested of his borrowed authority, together with the ensigns of it, his sword and pistols, which the commandant would never afterwards suffer him to resume. The bishop met him at times in the street, and was certain from

his scowling visage that he meditated revenge. Indeed he had at all times an uncommon wickedness in his eyes, which, though dark and piercing, he was unable to fix steadily upon an honest man. His death therefore, on the day of Killalla, was the only one at the news of which the whole town seemed to concur in rejoicing ; nor was the manner of it dissimilar from his life. He fled from the battle into a house in the town, where he knew he had no chance of being long hid from his pursuers. So he joined a party of the victors as they were in full chase after the rebels, crying out ‘ that he would be their guide to the wicked croppies,’ till coming to a place where two passages met, he pointed out one of them to the soldiers, and threw himself headlong into the other. ‘ That’s a croppie himself’, exclaimed with an oath a Frazer fencible, who had kept his eyes upon him ; and on the instant he sent a ball after the wily fugitive, which terminated all his pranks at once.”

S 2



## C H A P. XVI.

**I**MMEDIATELY on intelligence of the invasion, lord Cornwallis determined to march in person against the enemy, and accordingly arrived at Phillipstown on the 26th of August; having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days. He arrived at Kilbeggan very early in the morning of the 28th, when he was informed of the defeat at Castlebar; he then advanced to Athlone, where he was positively informed by many who had fled through Tuam, particularly an officer of the carabineers, that the French had pursued general Lake's army to Tuam, driven it from that post, and taken possession of the town; but the French army was too much fatigued with their march through the mountains, to pursue the royal troops further than Castlebar. When general Lake arrived at Tuam, he judged that post unsafe, particularly as he had lost all his artillery and ammunition, and some of the troops being disorderly, he judged it expedient to retreat nearer to Athlone. Even in this town an attack was expected, though it is sixty-three miles from Castlebar.



Lord Cornwallis saw that the utmost caution was necessary, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army, immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller body of troops which might be defeated; while these troops were ordered to harass the enemy as much as was in their power, without running risks, or engaging in battle without almost a certainty of success. Lord Cornwallis proceeded on the 30th of August, towards Castlebar, and arrived at Hollymount on the 4th of September, whence he purposed to advance to Castlebar, fourteen miles distant, and attack the French army posted in that town, till in the evening of the same day, he received information that the French had abandoned that town in the morning, and had proceeded in the direction of Foxford; having been informed of lord Cornwallis's approach.

After the royal army was defeated at Castlebar, and the French had taken possession of the town, great numbers of the Irish peasantry flocked to their standard, as those had done at Ballina, from the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo. To furnish these multitudes with fire-arms, these brought from France, were found to be quite insufficient, though, according to the account of colonel Charost, to the bishop of Killalla, fifty-five hundred muskets were delivered to them at Castlebar. Those mountaineers were found to be very awkward in the use of fire-arms, and were of

little use to the French, who expected far more powerful assistance from the Irish. They had also expected to be immediately followed by a large army and a considerable number of arms, with ammunition and stores from France. Being entirely disappointed in the former expectation, and seeing no prospect of being gratified with the latter, they began to apprehend that they had only been sent to annoy the enemies of their country. They however, even in this case, resolved to perform their duty, and use every effort in their power, against the British government, until they should be compelled to surrender.

On the 1st of September general Humbert ordered the troops which he left at Killalla, to repair to the main body, and on the 4th of the same month, he marched from Castlebar, and directed his march through Foxford, towards the town of Sligo, with a design of entering the county of Donegal, where it was expected, the additional forces from France, would land. A body of the king's troops, under colonel Crawford, supported by another under lieutenant-general Lake, hung upon the rear of Humbert's army; another body of troops, under general Moore, watched the motions of the enemy, at a greater distance; while the main army, under lord Cornwallis, proceeded in a parallel direction from the town of Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, towards Carrick-on-shannon, intending to regulate his subsequent motions by those of the enemy.

The advanced-guard of the French having passed Tubbercurry, after a smart action with some yeomen, and arrived at the village of Coloony, about five miles from Sligo, where it was gallantly opposed by colonel Verreker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia, a few yeomen, and thirty of the 24th dragoons, and two curriele guns, in the whole not exceeding three hundred men. Colonel Verreker found the enemy advantageously arranged for his reception between him and Coloony. The colonel engaged the French about an hour and a half, but was at length obliged to retreat to Sligo, with the loss of his artillery, and some men killed and wounded. Himself and four other officers were wounded, and ensign Rumley killed. The loss of the French in this action exceeded fifty, thirty of whom were wounded.

Notwithstanding the royal troops were defeated, the French army received such a severe check, that general Humbert thought proper to relinquish his design of attacking Sligo. Humbert then directed his march through Drummahair towards Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders dismounted, and throwing five other pieces of artillery over the bridge into the water at Drummahair. When he had come within a few miles of Manorhamilton, he suddenly wheeled to the right, and directed his course through Drumkerin, with intention, as is supposed, of attempting to reach the town of Granard, in the county of Longford, where an insurrection had broken out. The troops

under colonel Crawford, pursued the enemy with such expedition, that on the 7th he came to an action with the rear-guard, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which he was defeated with some loss.

The French army then passed the river Shannon at Ballintra, and halted in the night at Cloone, whence it proceeded to Ballinamuck, and arrived on the 8th of September, and was so closely followed by the troops under general Lake and colonel Crawford, that its rear-guard had not time to blow up the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit. About this time lord Cornwallis, with the main army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, and marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the county of Longford, to intercept the enemy in front, should it proceed to Granard; by which movement the French army was reduced to such a situation that, if it had proceeded, it would have been surrounded by an army of near thirty thousand men.

General Humbert then arranged his forces in order of battle, and determined to maintain the honour of the French arms, until he should be compelled to surrender. The rear-guard of his army was then attacked by the troops under colonel Crawford, when about two hundred infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves with great spirit for near an hour; but when the main body of the army, under general Lake, appeared, they also surrendered, after having made lord Roden, and a small party of dra-

goons, prisoners. Lord Roden, and the dragoons, advanced into the French line, for the purpose of obtaining their surrendry, without the effusion of blood, when they were made prisoners. Soon after the king's troops came up, and the French desired lord Roden to order them to halt, and they surrendered.

General Humbert surrendered to lieutenant-general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about five miles off.

The rebels who had joined the French, and accompanied them to Ballynamuck, were excluded from quarter, and of course fled, as fast as they could, in all directions, and were pursued by our cavalry, who made a great slaughter among them, having killed near five hundred. The number of French prisoners were seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers; they having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight men, since their landing at Killalla.

While the French were marching from Castlebar, an alarming insurrection broke out in the neighbourhood of Granard, which was designed to make a diversion in their favour, and to afford them a commodious post, whence they might, when united, direct their operations against the metropolis; to prevent this junction lord Cornwallis prudently marched his forces in a line between the invading army and the interior country. Great numbers of rebels joined this conspi-

racy, particularly in the county of Longford, who were headed by the O'Harás, the two Dennistons, O'Connell, Farrell, and O'Reilly, all men of property. Their plan was to rise at the summons of their chiefs in the neighbourhood of Granard, to seize that post and then to attack the town of Cavan, where a great quantity of arms and ammunition were deposited. On the 5th of September, a body of upwards of four thousand of these insurgents were on the point of surprising the town of Granard, before any considerable force could be had for its protection. Between seven and eight in the morning the rebels were within sight of the town, under the command of Alexander Denniston. At this critical moment captain Cottingham of the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeomen infantry and eighty-five men arrived for its defence, and joined the few yeomen who were in the town. Captain Cottingham's force now consisted of one hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry; which he placed in an advantageous position on a hill, between the insurgents and the town; but observing that the rebels, who were advancing in one column, divided into three for the purpose of surrounding his little army, he retreated to another position still nearer the town, where he was protected by a bank and other fences, and in this position awaited the attack of the rebels, who drove a number of cattle before them to annoy the yeomen, but they turned the cattle aside without falling into confusion; then the rebels advanced close to their line, and received a destructive discharge of musketry; notwithstanding which they persevered in their at-



tempt during five hours, from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, when they fled and were pursued with great slaughter. It was said that upwards of four hundred rebels were killed in this action, without any loss on the part of the yeomen, except two privates who were slightly wounded. Great praise is due to captain Cottingham, and the men under his command, for having repulsed so superior a force. Besides the yeomen, three gentlemen are much praised for their gallant behaviour on this occasion, Andrew Bell, of Drumkeel, and Moutray Eiskine, who volunteered, and Ralph Dopping who defended the entrance into the town by the barracks. This victory was of the greatest importance, as it prevented the spreading of the insurrection, and those murders and devastations which would have been its consequences.

The main body of the rebels, after its defeat, directed its march to Wilson's hospital, a commodious building erected for charitable purposes, the maintenance of twenty aged men and an hundred boys, in the county of Westmeath, from a legacy bequeathed by Andrew Wilson, of Piersfield. This building had been entered and plundered in the morning of the same day, by another body of the rebels, who were taking measures to murder, on the following day, the 6th of September, twenty-seven protestant prisoners, who had been conveyed thither from the country, when the defeated rebels arrived; which they would have effected, had not they been prevented by the approach of a small body of troops which lord Longford had,

with great diligence, collected. This force consisted of some yeomen and a detachment of the Argyleshire fencibles, with one field-piece, under the command of major Porter, the whole not exceeding two hundred and fifty men. A large body of rebels, five hundred of whom were armed with muskets, marched from the hospital to meet these troops, near the village of Banbrusna. Here this little army was posted as soon as intelligence was received of the advance of the rebels, and awaited their attack, which began with a most furious attempt to seize the field piece ; but after a few discharges of grape shot, by which many of them were killed, they were obliged to retreat in the greatest confusion. In their retreat a party of them took shelter in a farm-house and out-buildings, which the king's troops immediately set fire to, and they were in consequence burned ; together with many unfortunate wretches who had gone into them. It was now almost dark, and the troops determined to lay on their arms all night, and attack the insurgents in the hospital next morning. With this intention they proceeded at day light, but found it evacuated by the rebels, who had plundered and destroyed every valuable article they found in it. The loss of the rebels, in this action, has been stated at upwards of one hundred in killed and wounded ; while that of the royalists was only two men killed.

After this time, the rebels never appeared in arms in the neighbourhood of Granard ; but in the western parts of the country, particularly in the county of

Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the French, they still continued in a state of insurrection. They were not informed of the surrendry of general Humbert's army, until a few days after it had taken place; and before they knew that circumstance, a body of rebels attacked Castlebar, which had been occupied by the King's troops, immediately on the evacuation of it by the French.

The garrison, consisting of fifty-seven Frazer fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and one troop of cavalry, was so judiciously posted by captain Urquart, of the fencibles, as to completely rout the insurgents, whose intention was to plunder the town, and murder all the protestant inhabitants, as they were not permitted to molest them, while commanded by the French officers.

About this time most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the insurgents were recovered, particularly Westport and Newport, by the fencibles and yeomen under the honourable Dennis Browne, and captain Urquart; but Ballina and Killalla remained some time longer in possession of the rebels.

“Saturday September 8th, (a day memorable for the victory at Ballinamuck) exhibited to the town of Killalla a new subject of alarm and terror. Hitherto it had been, to such as had any thing to lose, matter of comfort to observe how awkwardly the armed peasants handled their firelocks, and how slow a progress they

were making in the arts of destruction. This day, for the first time, pikes began to be talked of, instead of muskets. An officer of the rebels, one of the very few among them who seemed to have a head for mischief as well as a heart, signified to the commandant (still by the bishop, who made it a point to interpret faithfully, even where the matter of discourse made him shudder) that the friends of liberty, seeing the fire-arms were all distributed, and that they were not thought worthy of being trusted with the ammunition brought from France, had come to a resolution of forming a strong body of pikemen, who, they trusted, would be found capable of doing at least as much execution on the enemy as any of their fellows. Therefore desired permission to seize upon all the iron they could find in the stores of Mr Kirkwood, or elsewhere, to fabricate pike-heads.

“Charost liked the proposal almost as little as the bishop did. As a soldier, he despised the service of pike-men against regular troops; as a man, he hated the use to which these weapons might be applied by the robber and the murderer. But it was not his place to throw obstacles in the way of any offer to advance the common cause. He contented himself therefore with applauding the zeal of the people, who, he said, should have leave to use Mr Kirkwood’s iron, as soon as there was an absolute need of making free with that gentleman’s property, but advised them to try first whether they could not get iron enough in an honest way, by converting into pike-heads what they

had at home of that material, their own forks and other implements of husbandry. The answer was taken in good part, and saved the stores for the present. But as pikes were not forbidden, all the smiths and carpenters were presently set to work at making them, and every thief was busy in supplying materials for them. Pitch-forks were lawful prize from that day forth; and young trees were more becoming as pike-handles in the grasp of a lover of liberty, than as ornaments to a gentleman's farm. In a short time a body of pike-men was raised, under the direction of the officer above mentioned, which receiving daily accessions of numbers, because they carried their weapons every where, did no regular military duty, and mixed in every tumultuous assembly with a superior aptness for mischief.

“Precarious as the state of things at this time evidently was, it created surprise to observe, that the country folk had the hardiness to continue bringing their goods to the market, where they found a ready sale. Charost availed himself of his power, only to take the weightier articles of provision; from the lower class of people he drew little or nothing without paying for it. Of course, what ready money he had brought with him, which did not exceed forty louis, was soon expended. The other officers were poorer than himself, and their pay from home was not to be expected. In this exigency there was no resource, but in a requisition of money from the district, which

enjoyed the benefit of the French protection. The bishop was applied to for a list of names of persons most competent to contribute. His answer was, that he saw no objection either to the demand itself, or the quantum, which was fifty guineas, and that he should himself pay one-fifth of the contribution; but he desired to be excused from the business of assessing the other inhabitants, as he was too new a comer to be acquainted with their circumstances. Mr Devitt, their new magistrate, occurred as the person most likely to execute the business for them. Presently comes a translated letter from the commandant to the citizen magistrate Devitt, *inviting* him ‘to entreat the town and district of Killalla to shew, by their contributions, their zeal for the glorious cause of the people. Some had come forward already with presents of money; and the writer doubted not, but many would be ready to imitate the good example. An exact register should be kept of the names and the sums subscribed, and the French government only asked it under the name of a loan.’ With some delay and grumbling the sum was raised at last, a good part of which remained in the hands of Mrs Stock (the bishop’s lady) till it proved a seasonable supply to Charost and his companions when they were ordered away to Dublin.

“About this time O’Donnel, the young man mentioned before as having helped to protect Mr Kirkwood in Erris, came to Killalla, with no other view,



as he pretended, than to offer his services in preserving the peace of the town, by exerting his influence over the mountaineers of his own district. To this object he seemed for some time to confine his attention, and gained so upon the commandant by an appearance of sense and activity, that he was presently appointed to the office of town-major, with a command over the nightly watch. It is possible, he did not mean at first to accept any military commission from the French; but having a large share of vanity in his composition, and feeling himself grow into consequence among the rebels by comparison with their drunken general Bellew, he aspired to his place, and in fact (though never formally) succeeded to it, after the other was turned out. Charost had more than once occasion, in the sequel, to repent of having placed a confidence in this man before he had time to know his character. The airs the young jackanapes gave himself became every day more troublesome. On pretence that he must have a bed at the castle to take the orders of the commandant in case of any disturbance at night, he took to himself one of the bed-chambers of the middle floor, from which it was not possible afterwards to dislodge him; and this apartment he was pleased to distinguish by the name of *his* room. His next attempt was to be admitted to mess with the family; but here he failed of success. The bishop, disgusted with his forwardness and vulgar manners, avoided as much as possible all intercourse with him, and when he did ask him to sit down at his

table (as at times he could scarcely help doing so without rudeness) it was evidently the result of constraint ; so that Mr O'Donnel kept himself at a distance for the most part, but complained much of the ingratitude with which he was treated, after his great services in protecting the bishop and his family. The presence of such a lodger taught the people at the castle to feel for the situation of their neighbours of the town, annoyed, as they were known to be, by company of a still coarser mold. Day and night the stair-case was infested with O'Donnel's levee, either with drunken boors from Erris, or his own kinsfolk the Macguires of Crosmalina, the principal of whom was a brewer of some substance, who for his good services to France by engaging himself and three or four sons in this rebellion, has lately been requited with a halter. His sons, strong brutes without mind or manners, but by aid of pillage provided with good clothes and arms, were back and forward at Killalla, concerting measures with their cousin O'Donnel, and, indeed, helping to make him less odious, when his behaviour was viewed in comparison with theirs.

“ One of the Macguires, under colour of delivering a message to the commandant, had the insolence one day to thrust himself into the dining parlour, while the family were at dinner, and seemed to enjoy the alarm which his saucy countenance, his sword and pistols, occasioned among the ladies. The commandant instantly ordered him to leave the room, with a sharp

rebuke for his presumption, declaring at the same time, that there were two hours of the twenty-four which he would not suffer to be wrested from him by any business whatsoever. Another of these three youths, Roger Macguire, carried himself with so much impertinence in his embassy at Castlebar (to be mentioned presently) as would have drawn destruction on his own head, if the safety of better people had not happened at that time to be included in his.

“Disagreeable as an inmate, O'Donnel was not, however, without merit as an officer, and a guardian of the public peace. His first exertions were directed to preventing waste by the unnecessary slaughter of beasts. To supply the rebel camp, sheep and oxen had been driven in daily in such numbers, and with so little attention to economy, that as there was very little salt to be had, and the weather was rather warm, it was found necessary to bury many joints of fresh meat in the earth to prevent an infection. Of this abuse the commandant and the bishop were eye-witnesses one morning, being led to a back-yard in the town where lay the carcases of half a dozen bullocks just killed. O'Donnel received orders to lay before the magistrate Devitt, regular accounts of what fresh meat would be wanted by the troops on permanent duty. The magistrate was to issue a requisition for the supply demanded, sending a guard to take so much from the farmers, and no more. The beasts were to be taken to one particular spot, appointed for killing them :

and proclamation was made, that any person, caught in driving and killing, without a written order from the magistrate, should be instantly shot. By the vigilance of O'Donnel the order was tolerably well obeyed, though the consumption after all was certainly very great.

“ It was a novel situation to the bishop to be forced to subsist on plunder, both of meat and drink. The choicest beef and mutton from grazing grounds that feed the hoast of the markets of Dublin, excellent wines and spirits extracted from the cellars of his very good friends the neighbouring gentry, made their visits in due order at the castle, and were received, at first with groans and lamentations over the times, and at last with great equanimity, as a misfortune that could not be helped. At times, the company at the castle even felt a disposition to be merry on the arrival of one of these felonious cargoes. Some bottles of excellent hock, drawn from the cellars of the right hon. colonel King at Ballina, came as a present from the French officer there to M. Charost. The wine on trial was found so good, that conscience began to mutter at the sin of assisting in the robbery of so hospitable a gentleman as the owner must have been, unless he might be proved guilty of some crime. He was therefore formally indicted for *loyalty*, for an obstinate adherence to his sovereign, and to the constitution under which he was born. The charge was easily proved, as colonel King was then just recovering from

a shot through the body, which he had received at the battle of New Ross, fighting stoutly at the head of his regiment against the United Irishmen, the meritorious allies of France, and lovers of revolution. Of course he was pronounced *guilty* with acclamations, and his wine was confiscated without a dissenting voice.



## C H A P. XVII.

“THE confusion of the times had unavoidably suspended the exercise of public worship by the members of the established church. On the Lord’s-day, a considerable number from the town used to venture into the castle to join the family there at devotions, offered up with a seriousness and fervency suitable to the present distress. The worthy minister of the parish, dean Thompson, went through the church service, assisted by his curate; the bishop preached: We all found by experience, both lay and clergy, the truth of the psalmist’s declaration, *It is good for me that I have been in affliction*. Happy, if we shall be enabled by the divine aid, through the varying scenes of our future life, to retain the good feeling, and practise the lessons, which that awful period impressed upon us! Prayers were offering at the castle on the ninth of September, when the congregation was alarmed by hearing the sound of the cathedral bell. On inquiry it was found, that Mr O’Donnel had taken the key of the church out of the sexton’s house, and ordered the



bell to be rung for the purpose of calling his Roman catholic followers to mass in the house of Mr Morrison, a protestant merchant, who with his family, was forced to witness the ceremony. The bishop was determined not to overlook such an encroachment. He went, immediately after divine service, to O'Donnel, expostulated calmly with him on an action which must awake the jealousy of the established church for the safety of what the law had put into their hands, and in conclusion, desired he would return the key, and for the future, give up all thought of using the church bell. With this demand O'Donnel, apparently softened by the manner in which it was urged, complied; nor was any attempt afterwards actually made on the cathedral by the Romanists, though in the camp they often expressed a resolution to seize upon it. The presence of the French always restrained them.

“ Indeed, the contrast with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish allies, was extremely curious. The athiest despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, ‘ that they had just driven Mr Pope out of Italy, and ‘ did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland.’ It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their service, declare, ‘ that they were come to take arms for France, and ‘ *the Blessed Virgin.*’ The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enter-

prise, was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them, (from their foreign education,) being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop. A hair-brained priest of the name of Sweeney had escaped along with Boudet from Newport, when it was re-taken, apprehensive of the punishment which afterwards overtook the poor wretch for the active part he had adopted in exciting his parishioners to rebellion. The man had a smattering of science, particularly in the antiquities of his country, of which he seemed to be passionately fond. On being introduced by Boudet to the commandant, he preferred an humble request to that officer, that whereas every thing lately belonging to the protestants must now be French property, and inasmuch as soldiers were not usually covetous of books, he should be extremely obliged to M. Charost, if he would make him a present of the bishop of Killalla's library. 'The bishop's library!' answered Charost, turning from him with contempt, 'is just as much his own now, as ever it was.'

“What powerful motive could prevail on this order of men to lend their hearts and hands to a revolution,

which so manifestly threatened to overwhelm their own credit and consequence, supposing even that they were indifferent to the fate of that religion of which they professed themselves to be the consecrated ministers? I will tell the reader what I conceive to be the true key to this mystery, if I may have his pardon for the digression.

“ The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why, upon every popular commotion, many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier: the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish. There was a time indeed, when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of the civil government. But the reign of superstition is either past, or passing: at least if it holds the *mind* of the believer, it is not, by many degrees, so effectual as formerly to open his *purse*. Holy oil, and indulgencies, and absolutions, have fallen very much in their price; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive; and even the golden mine of purgatory seems to be running to a

thread. Voluntary contribution, the main resource of the priest, must depend on popularity. ‘Live with me, and live as I do. Oppress me not with superior learning or refinement. Take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed and conduct’—such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in spite of penury : admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue which can withstand the menace of absolute want of bread. The remedy for this defect in the present political system of Ireland, should seem to be as easy as it is obvious. But it is not for a private individual to suggest to our enlightened legislature either the time or the measure in which such a remedy ought to be applied.

“ Although the cathedral church of Killalla escaped violence in the manner related, there was scarcely another protestant place of worship throughout the united dioceses, that did not quickly bear evident marks of the religious intolerance of the rebels. But their malice was chiefly directed against a presbyterian meeting-house between Killalla and Ballina, the only one of the kind in the county. It had lately been fitted up and decently ornamented by the unwearied exertions of the minister, the reverend Mr Marshall, whose exemplary character had entitled him to so much respect, that all his protestant neighbours, without dis-

tion, had contributed to give him a handsome place of worship. In a very short time after the commencement of the rebellion, nothing remained of the meeting-house except the walls. The congregation experienced no better treatment than their temple. They were a colony of very industrious weavers from the north, translated hither some years back by the earl of Arran, to a village of his called Mullifarra, where they had flourished so much, that they were grown rich, and had increased to the number of a thousand persons. The name of Orangemen had but just begun to be heard of in Connaught; and much it were to be wished, that no such society had ever appeared among us, to furnish to the Romanists too plausible a pretext for alarm and hostility against their protestant brethren. The bishop had opposed their establishment with all his might. On the very day when the invasion happened, he was busied in entering a protest, in his primary visitation charge, against the first sentence of the oath by which Orangemen are united together, 'I am not a Roman catholic.' The words sounded in his ears too much like those in the prophet, *Stand off, I am holier than thou*; and assuredly they are not calculated to conciliate. The society had originated in the same northern county, which some years before had disgraced itself by an infamy new to protestants, an actual expulsion of Roman catholics from their homes. The perpetrators of this lawless deed were supposed to be chiefly presbyterians; and now upon the unoffending people of that persuasion in Connaught were to be retaliated the injuries



done to the Romanists in Ulster. The village of Mullifarra, on pretence of searching for arms, was ransacked in three nocturnal invasions of the rebels, till there was nothing left in it worth carrying away; and this in defiance of a protection under the hand of the commandant, obtained for them and their pastor by the bishop. The poor sufferers came in tears to M. Charost, to return him a protection which had done them no good. It shocked him very much. Often did he whisper the bishop, that no consideration should prevail on him again to trust himself to such a horde of savages as the Irish.

“The cloud of common suffering makes the features of distinction between protestants, in the matter of religion, appear as nothing. Mr Marshall having lost his own chapel, readily and devoutly joined us in our worship. Service being ended, he informed us, that the people of Sligo, after a smart action or two at Colooney on the preceding Thursday, had succeeded in turning the French from their own town towards the county of Leitrim, where it was probable they would meet a force from Enniskillen and Dublin, that would be able to give a good account of them. Castlebar, Newport-Pratt, and Westport, he assured us, were recovered, and nothing remained in the hands of the enemy but our town and Ballina. The joy of this news was presently dashed with the reflection, that if the French should push on, and be defeated at length in some place far removed from us, we must be left, absolutely destitute of defence, at



the mercy of rebels irritated by despair, and for a space of time quite sufficient to accomplish our destruction. The danger was felt and acknowledged; but as we could not by our own foresight avert it, we cast ourselves for the event on the good pleasure of Him, who knew best what was fitting for us.

“ Mr Marshall was the bearer this morning, Sept. 9th, of a fresh complaint from his people at Mullifarah: they had not only been robbed of their goods, but a considerable number of them had been carried prisoners to Ballina for the alledged crime of being Orangemen, where, by permission of the French officer Truc, they remained close prisoners, with scarcely any thing for their support. This behaviour of Truc much displeased the commandant, as he had straitly charged that officer not to listen to accusations on a religious account, nor suffer any person to be confined for them. He thought it incumbent on him therefore to go immediately to Ballina to rectify matters there, and enforce a better execution of his orders, which he did, taking Ponson along with him. The business employed him the whole day, as he had above sixty prisoners to examine and discharge. During his absence, the loyalists at Killalla had not been very easy in their minds, committed as they were to the protection of M. Boudet only, and on the day of the week when danger was most to be apprehended, from the confluence of people out of the country to their prayers.

“ Nothing, however, of an unpleasant nature oc-

curred this or the two following days, except the usual annoyance from lies of the approach of an enemy, fabricated by the rebels to colour their importunity for ammunition. Seven hundred and fifty recruits were counted before the castle gate on the eleventh, who came to offer their services for retaking the neighbouring towns that had returned to their allegiance; and this, after arms had been delivered out by the French, as I mentioned before, to upwards of five thousand. The population in the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo much exceeds what the country, from its haggard appearance, would be thought capable of sustaining. These last recruits were extremely urgent to cut down two ash groves, planted to screen the see-house from the winds that blow with so much fury in this climate. Pikes they must have, they said, since they were not supplied with other weapons; but they paid the bishop the compliment of promising to spare his trees, if he would only get them leave from the commandant to cut down those that belonged to his neighbour Roger Palmer, esq. or to the agent of that gentleman, sir John Edmund Browne, who seemed to be very unpopular among them. With much difficulty, and with the sacrifice of three or four very good trees, they were prevailed upon to desist at that time from further mischief.

“ September twelfth and thirteenth, the messengers of ill news poured in upon us continually, announcing fresh depredations on every side. Castlereagh, the seat of Arthur Knox, esq. (brother-in-law to the earl

of Meath) Castle Lacken, the property of sir John Palmer, bart. were broke open and completely rifled. Mr Bourke, of Summer-hill, informed the bishop by message, that he was threatened grievously, and in danger of murder, if he was not supplied presently with a guard and ammunition: he added in his note, that he had cash in the house, which he wished to have conveyed to the castle. A faithful domestic of Mr Knox's came with tears in his eyes to the bishop, to beg he would send a party of men to Castlereagh, to snatch up what might yet be rescued from the spoilers, particularly a quantity of wine, spirits, and groceries, which, if they must be lost to his master, had better go to the use of the garrison in the castle, than to a parcel of ruffians.

“ The want of horses was now felt severely. The bishop had but one left, which had been sent back to him by the French from Castlebar. This was dispatched with a car to Castlereagh, together with a party under O'Donnel, to bring off what goods he could to the castle. Another horse was found somewhere, to convey M. Boudet to Summer-hill; and as he could effect nothing without an interpreter, the bishop, much against his will, was obliged to trust his eldest son with this officer, through a country rendered almost as dangerous as a field of battle, by the inconsiderate firing of shots by the rebels in all directions. The pair walked and rode by turns, and a very unpleasant suspense prevailed at the castle till their return late in the evening. By their appearance at

Summerhill, quiet was for the present restored to that place. Boudet rendered honourable testimony to the spirit with which Mr Bourke defended his property against a host of marauders. But the bishop trembled at the hazard his son Edwin had incurred, when Mr Bourke prevailed on him to be the bearer to the castle of a hundred and seventy guineas in cash.

“ While this was passing, all was confusion in the lower part of the castle, by the condition in which the party returned that had gone to Castlereagh. No expedient for saving the wine and spirits from the unworthy mouths that were preparing to swallow them appeared to the messengers to be so ready and effectual, as that of using the liquors instantly themselves. In consequence, the bishop’s butler returned from the expedition pot-valiant, quarrelled with the gardener and carter, presented a blunderbuss at the former, and provoked the bishop himself so much by saucy language, that he lost his temper, and almost knocked the fellow down with a box on the ear. The commandant interposing, locked him up in his own pantry, and left him to sleep there till morning. The man had been an excellent servant, and it is hoped will continue to be so in a place of less temptation. But the opportunity of gaining by the arrival of the French was too alluring: he declared for them immediately, served them only, to the neglecting of his master, betrayed the secrets of the cellar to them, talked often like a rebel, and in short did such things, as might have brought his neck in question, if his master had

not, after the action at Killalla, recommended to him a speedy retreat out of the country. Some liquor, the groceries, and a quantity of furniture, the property of Mr John Knox, were safely deposited in the castle.

“ From Castle Lacken little or nothing could be saved. The manner in which this mansion, the old family seat of sir John Palmer, was surprised, is worth describing. Mr Waldron, agent to the baronet, who rented the house, and had a very considerable property in and about it, had received a guard from the French, with which for some days he had been able to protect himself against his disorderly neighbours. The guards however required guarding as much as the rest of their countrymen; and a plan was concerted, in consequence of which the house should appear to be taken by a sudden assault, in spite of all opposition. A horseman came in full gallop through the surrounding crowd to the door, announcing himself to be an express from the bishop at Killalla. The unwary owner unbarred his door, and in an instant the mob without and the guards within threw the unfortunate man on the floor, ran over him many times, dispersed his affrighted family of children and grandchildren, completely gutted the house, and even carried away the flooring, drove off his stock, and in short did him damage (as he afterwards proved to the committee) little short of three thousand pounds. It was melancholy to see a family, accustomed to ease and comfort, arrive the next day at Killalla on foot, with



nothing saved but the clothes on their backs. But this was a spectacle, to which we had now been too much familiarized. Mr Waldron had another house and farm in the vicinity, which were presently after destroyed in as merciless a manner by the same savages.

“ The farm-house of Mr John Boyd (a worthy man, respectable also for his skill as a surveyer) though greatly exposed by standing single at a considerable distance from town, was preserved by a circumstance that may be reckoned curious, as it shews the light in which the insurgents beheld their French allies. Two soldiers of that nation, wounded, but not dangerously, at Castlebar, were sent to the commandant to be put into some place where they might be recovered. Mr Boyd, by the bishop's advice, offered his own house as a quiet retreat for the men, who at the same time, from the respect paid by the rebels to the French, might be a security to him and his family. The offer was accepted, and proved effectual for the purpose intended; for though gangs of robbers frequently threatened the house, no attack was actually made on it, as long as the foreigners (very well behaved poor fellows) continued in it, which was for upwards of a fortnight. It cost much exertion afterwards to defend the same house to the end of the troubles.”



## C H A P. XVIII.

“SEPTEMBER the twelfth, in the evening, the light of hope began to open on the loyalists of Killalla. Something must have happened, they whispered one another, to the prejudice of the French arms, as an express arrived from Ballina, and was sent back in wet and darkness almost immediately: the French officers also, from that time, looked very much dejected. Next morning, a prisoner was brought in from Ballina, supposed to be of note, because the commandant wished the bishop to be present at his examination.

“It proved to be William Charles Fortescue, esq. nephew and heir to Lord Clermont, and member for the county of Louth, a gentleman with whom the bishop had not the honour of being before acquainted. The conversation between him and M. Charost passing in the French language, and in a low tone of voice, the bishop was on the point of quitting the room, when Mr Fortescue announced himself in English to

be the brother of the young clergymen already mentioned, as having received a mortal wound in the first rencounter with the French. No certain intelligence of his death had reached Dublin ; so that Mr F. was instigated by affection for an excellent and only brother to set out on horseback for Ballina, attended by one servant, resolved to take his chance, if that town should yet be in the hands of the rebels, though, when he left the capital, it was believed to have returned, along with the rest of the county, to the king's peace. On his way he had passed through Granard, just after the battle of Ballinamuck, where he had seen general Humbert and his officers, going as prisoners of war to Dublin ; and even then he had no intimation, that he might not proceed without danger as far as Ballina. He did not discover his mistake, till he was arrested by a patrolle within a short distance from that town. The commanding officer there, M. Truc, with his usual brutality charged him with coming there as a spy to intimidate the friends of liberty by a false report of the defeat of their army, detained the servant and baggage, and sent the master to Killalla to be examined by Charost. From the description Mr Fortescue gave him of the persons of the French officers whom he had seen prisoners, the commandant could have no doubt of the defeat of his countrymen, even though he had not been furnished with a more convincing proof by the receipt of two letters from officers in the French army, stating the capture of their whole force near the iron mines in the county of Leitrim, to-

gether with the dispersion of their Irish allies, on the Saturday preceding.

“ These letters the commandant made no scruple of imparting to the bishop, with an air of confidence in his honour, and his discretion, which was certainly very flattering. He gave him leave at the same time to discourse on the subject with Mr Fortescue, only admonishing them both of the present danger of divulging the secret. Of such a caution, in truth, they stood in very little need : for it was plainly the interest of the loyalists to observe the strictest silence with regard to the ill posture of the affairs of the rebels, lest these should be on their backs before the king’s army could come to their relief. Mr Fortescue was taking his leave of the commandant to return to his disagreeable confinement under Truc, when the bishop, in French, (that Charost might object, if he pleased) invited him to share bed and board with them at the castle, an offer which, after some apologies, was thankfully accepted, and Mr Fortescue’s condition, though far inferior to that he was used to, became easy from thenceforth in comparison of what he had endured at Ballina. The presence of this gentleman was of great service in supporting the spirits of the company at the castle ; for, having attained to the rank of major in the army, he possessed a steadiness of mind in danger, and a prudence, the result of experience, which often suggested the most salutary counsels.

“ Concealment of the news from Ballinamuck was

not long practicable. People who had escaped from the slaughter came in hourly to offer their services to the commandant, though several of them carried in their persons evident marks how little they had gained by their zeal for the cause. The intelligence did not seem by any means to produce on the minds of the rebels the effect that might naturally have been expected, their gradual dispersion and return to their own homes. On the contrary, the resort to the camp in the bishop's meadows grew greater every day; the talk of vengeance on the protestants was louder and more frequent; the rebels were drilled regularly, ammunition was demanded, and every preparation made for an obstinate defence against the arms of their sovereign. Careless of the future, or trusting to the delay which must be occasioned by the distance of the king's army, they thought of nothing but living merrily, as long as they might, upon the property that lay at their mercy; and they did use their power of doing mischief most terribly. Spoil was not the sole, or even the principal, object of their leaders; for they destroyed in every decent habitation much more than they carried away. Depression of the industrious and better sort, the universal levelling of conditions, in order to bring on the glorious reign of equality, such appeared to be the wish of those who aspired at all to the praise of thinking, and called themselves *republicans*: the mob had no prompters but lust of pillage and superstition. For, that enmity to the protestant religion entered into the motives of the devastation in Connaught, cannot with any shew

of reason be denied, since it is notorious that, except during the indiscriminate plunder which took place at the capture of Castlebar, very few instances occurred, throughout the province, of the house or property of a Roman catholic being injured by the rebels.

“ Very different from those of the natives were the feelings of the French officers at Killalla, after they were assured of the miscarriage of their enterprise. Conceiving their task of annoying Britain to be for the present concluded, and expecting shortly to join their brother officers in Dublin, they looked to nothing but to the preserving of peace and quiet round about them, till a regular English force should approach, to which they might, without discredit, render themselves prisoners. They did not, indeed, profess so much to the rebels. On the contrary, they appeared always ready to train the men to arms, and to head them in any enterprise they proposed against the common enemy. But at the same time the commandant frequently warned them, that he would have no hand in incursions for pillage: ‘ he was *Chef de Brigade*,’ he said, ‘ but not *Chef de Brigands* ;’ and if ever he caught them preparing to spoil and murder protestants, he and his officers should side with the protestants against them to the very last extremity. He took extraordinary care also to be provided against the worst. Twelve good carabines, properly loaded, stood always ready in the bed-chamber where the three officers slept. Arms were distributed to seven or eight trusty persons of the bishop’s family. A guard of

eighteen (whom, as I said, it was necessary to keep an eye upon) watched in and round the house. The Frenchmen themselves were extremely alert, allowing themselves very little sleep, and scarcely any in the night, for ten days together. The steady undisturbed countenance of Charost added weight to his preparations.

“ The 18th of Sept. was a day of continual alarm. Reports from the rebel camp just beside us grew stronger than ever, that a mutiny was breaking out. About three o'clock, as the bishop and commandant were walking in the garden, one of the leaders of the rebels came in a great hurry to assure them, it was the determined purpose of the camp immediately to imprison, in the cathedral, every protestant as a pledge for their own security, in case of the arrival of the king's army. The man was dismissed with thanks for the warning, and desire to tell his countrymen, ‘ that we were ready for them.’ A good dinner soon after stopt their mouths, as it used to do: for we remarked, that the rebels in camp were always most inclined to cabal, and do mischief, while their dinner was preparing: when they had been regaled with beef and mutton, and a moderate share of whiskey, they became good-humoured and tractable.

“ On the 19th, at noon, they were hungry and quarrelsome again. The commandant, with a guard of thirty men, marched about the town, proclaiming his orders to the men to go to their homes, immediately



after they had received their allowance of beef. While he was thus engaged, a crowd gathered about the gate. The armed began to mutter as well as the unarmed. At last the bishop stepped out to them, and asked what they wanted.

“ They had heard, that many of their kinsmen and friends were in close confinement at Castlebar; and if they thought that was really the case, they could not be blamed for wishing to retaliate on the protestants here.

“ Are you sure of the fact?—No.

“ Why then, said the bishop, would it not be just and prudent to send messengers to Castlebar, whom you could trust, for a true report, before you proceed further ?

“ Right: but who will go on such an errand?

“ Take one of your own people, replied the bishop, with one of ours, to go immediately to the commanding officer at Castlebar. Let them carry a flag of truce, and a letter from me to general Trench, or other officer commanding there, setting forth our situation, and our hope that nothing would be done to the prisoners at Castlebar which may provoke reprisals on the protestants at Killalla. Disperse now, and you shall have a full and fair statement of things by

to-morrow. Let the persons to go with the flag be dean Thompson and Mr Roger Macguire.

“ With the populace half the work of persuasion is frequently over, when you can get them to listen. The bishop made the family one day merry by relating what he had just overheard. Two country fellows were disputing and pulling each other by the throat in the court-yard, when one cried to the other, ‘ Come away to the bishop, he will settle it for us—he makes us *hear one another*.’

“ The promised letter was presently written, and received with applause by the mutineers. The choice of ambassadors was likewise ratified by general consent; for young Macguire was an active partizan of the rebels, and dean Thompson’s character high in the estimation of all descriptions of people, and his influence at Castlebar, where he had been curate for nineteen years, was known to be equal to his merit. It was agreed, that the messengers should set out for Castlebar at four the next morning, and till they returned, nothing should be attempted.

“ It was a great exertion for dean Thompson to undertake this perilous errand, and greater on the part of his wife to consent to it. The mountain road was to be taken to Castlebar, as the shortest; but it was a wild country, swarming with robbers; neither was it at all certain, that the protestant messenger would not be arrested on the way by the friends of Macguire,

who might have consented to the embassy only to get such a person as the dean into their hands. If he was justly uneasy, his lady was still more to be pitied, encumbered as she was with the charge of four young children, and far advanced in her pregnancy. But this worthy couple, seeing no measure so likely as the proposed one to rescue themselves and their friends, acquiesced in it without a murmur, and committed the issue to Providence.

“ Mysterious are the ways of Divine Providence! unfathomable the depth of that wisdom, which often concedes a boon, only to try us afterwards by withdrawing it! Little didst thou foresee, amiable and unhappy woman, that the husband, whose escape from that peril transported thee with so much joy and gratitude to heaven, should in the succeeding year be torn for ever from thee by a fever, contracted in the course of his ministry by attendance on a sick bed. Be comforted, however. His virtues, though in the mid season of life, had rendered him full ripe for the great harvest. Thou hast it in thy power to earn a splendid recompence hereafter by patience, by attention to thy fatherless offspring!

“ The night of the nineteenth was past by almost the entire family at the castle without sleep. At midnight, as they were going to rest, one of the Macguires, from Crosmalina, burst in upon them with the news, that his troop had just been fired upon by the English, who might be expected at Killalla im-

mediately. It was not probable, that a regular force would be exposed to the chances of an engagement with such a crew in the night; but the story had the same effect as if it was true. The house was up all night, and had the pleasure of listening to the uproar made by the two Macguires, Roger and the new comer, in getting most beastly drunk in their cousin O'Donnel's room, till the commandant at last cuffed, and turned them both out of doors. In the morning, the false reporter from Crosmalina slept home again, rather ashamed of himself; but his brother, the ambassador, could not be found to go on his errand till it was near noon. The dean and he then set out on horseback, well armed with swords and pistols.

“ A troublesome consequence of the report brought by Macguire was, that it furnished a pretence to the pikemen, dismissed the day before by the commandant, to return to the town with offers of serving against the approaching enemy. In two hours the camp was said to number two thousand men. To do them justice, the peasantry never appeared to want animal courage, for they flocked together to meet danger whenever it was expected. Had it pleased heaven to be as liberal to them of brains as of hands, it is not easy to say to what length of mischief they might have proceeded; but they were all along unprovided with leaders of any ability. Bellew, their earliest officer, was a drunken brute, to whom nobody paid obedience, even before he was turned out of office by the commandant. Little better, either for

talent or sobriety, was O'Dowd, a man of some estate in the county, and almost the only gentleman that took arms with the rebels, for which he paid the forfeit of his life at Ballinamuck. Mr Richard Bourke, of Ballina, before-mentioned, had some military knowledge, was a good drill sergeant, firm in combat, and popular; so that he might have done the harm he wished, if the habitual stupefaction of drink had not been an overmatch for his malice. O'Donnel knew nothing of arms, nor was he likely to learn the profession quickly, his petulance making him unfit for discipline, insomuch that at one time Charost was forced to lay him under an arrest for some hours for quitting the neighbourhood, the night before, without orders. Yet the vulgar, who can discern in others what they have not in themselves, followed this young man more readily than any other who pretended to lead them, because they saw he had more sense, more command of himself, and more moderation in the exercise of authority. Even the loyalists at Killalla acknowledged obligation to him for the industry with which they saw him exert himself to prevent pillage, patrolling the streets on horseback for several nights together, and withholding, both by threats and persuasion, those whom he found bent upon mischief.

“There were times, when nothing could withhold them but blows. On the 20th, the house of the custom-house officer, Mr Rutledge, was again attacked by a band of ruffians, after it had been three or four

times ransacked before. The pretence was, that it contained tobacco, an article of which the country people are so fond, that they bear the want of it more impatiently than that of food. To quell the riot, Ponson was called from a nap he was taking, after being up all night. Alone he fell upon the whole crew, and aiming a blow at the foremost pillager, brought the fellow to the ground, to his infinite dismay; but the effort bent and broke the bayonet. Yet the dastardly assailants were put to the rout by this spirited exertion, and dispersed.

“ Friday morning, the 21st, brought another disorderly gang to molest the castle. These called themselves a deputation from the camp. They had heard, that Mr Bourke of Summerhill was fully purposed to employ a guard he had received from the commandant in harassing the families of his poor neighbours, while the heads of them were fighting for liberty; and they were come to ask leave to take him up. ‘ You may go, if you please,’ answered Charost, ‘ but I will follow you with my officers, and fire upon you, if I catch you in the act of plundering Summerhill.’ The affair was compromised by O’Donnel’s going over to Summerhill with a letter to Mr Bourke from the commandant, to warn him that he should content himself with acting on the defensive only, as he expected to have his guard left with him. Mr Bourke needed no such warning, for he had never trusted the guard within his doors. What provoked the commonalty so much against this gentleman was the thought, that he should



have it to boast he had set the whole body of united Irish at defiance for a month together. Even O'Donnel did not like to give him such matter of triumph.

“ After breakfast the same day, the bishop went into the town with M. Charost, to assist him in ordering a newly-arrived body of pikemen to go home to their harvest. It was a service of danger. About one hundred surly looking fellows were to be told, that the commandant had got men enough to guard the place (which was now his only business here) and did not desire to be troubled with a pack of robbers. Charost begged his interpreter to signify this to the people in words of *command*, such as would leave no doubt or dispute about his meaning; and Ponson, to enforce the order, pursued the rear of the body with his fire-lock, with expressions of contempt and anger so ridiculous, as to provoke the smiles of the loyalists, though plainly contrary to prudence. The pikemen muttered threats as they retired, both against the protestants and their abettors, as they called the French; and from that time accounts came in hourly, that they were resolved not to disperse, as they were ordered to do, but would choose new leaders, and plunder the town that very evening, in spite of the French and of O'Donnel. They seemed to wait only for the return of the ambassadors, whose arrival was indeed anxiously expected by all parties.

“ At four o'clock the castle family had a message, just before dinner, from an eye-witness, that the king's

army were advancing in great numbers, and by two roads from Castlebar. They must be at Ballina, it was said, by this time. Dinner was laid on the table, notwithstanding. In the midst of it, in rushed Thomas Kirkwood, a young officer of yeoman cavalry, with news that the attack on our front gate was commencing by about a score of armed men. Such a number did not frighten us. ‘Stay till they get to a head,’ says the commandant. We drank away, till they had increased to near fifty. Then the commandant took his hat, and marching out with his two officers fully armed, he steps forward to the pikemen, orders them to retire from the musqueteers, divides the latter into three platoons, and sets them directly to go through their exercise. Occupied for some time with these movements, they had not leisure to apply themselves to wiose, and thus were easily persuaded at last to disperse.

“A loud shout at six in the evening proclaimed the safe return of our two ambassadors. Great was the joy of the whole town at the sight of them, when we begun to despair of their appearance, at least before morning. They brought back a very polite letter to the bishop from general Trench, assuring him that his prisoners were, and should be, treated with all possible tenderness and humanity. The letter was publicly read to the multitude, and left in their hands. No disturbance ensued that night; but the trepidation was so great, that the castle could scarcely contain the refugees. Not fewer than fourscore persons

were housed in it. Nine of these, including Mr Fortescue, slept on the floor of the bishop's study. In their own bed-chamber the bishop and his lady were obliged to find room for four little children of their own, and as many more of a neighbour, together with their terrified mother. Fear, we know, is a passion not much troubled with qualms of delicacy.

VOL. II.

Z



## C H A P. XIX.

“OUR mission to Castlebar had the effect that was foreseen and wished. Dean Thompson, though very closely watched by his fellow-messenger, as long as the latter was able to keep himself awake, found means to have a private conference with general Trench, in which he painted to him the desperate situation of the loyalists at Killalla in so strong a light, that the general promised to march to our relief two days sooner than he had purposed to do, and desired him to tell the bishop, but with a strict injunction of secrecy, that he might expect his army by Sunday forenoon. Arthur Stock sent his father a note, that he was very well and happy at Castlebar, and hoped to be with us shortly. The bishop shook his head, as if he doubted much whether his son should find us alive.

“In effect the whole interval of time between general Trench’s promise and its completion, was a period of keener anxiety than is commonly crowded into an

equal space in any man's life. Clamour, and then a silence more terrible than clamour, reigned by turns in and about the castle. Our guards cast their eyes upon us with an uncertainty truly alarming; they seemed to hesitate whether they should plunge the bayonet in our breasts, or fall on their knees to implore our protection.

“ Early on Saturday morning, the loyalists were desired by the rebels to come up with them to the hill on which the Needle-tower is built, in order to be eye witnesses of the havock a party of the king's army was making, as it advanced towards us from Sligo. A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of unfortunate peasants. ‘ They are only a few cabins,’ remarked the bishop; and he had scarcely uttered the words, when he felt the imprudence of them. ‘ A poor man's cabin,’ answered one of the rebels, ‘ is to him as valuable as a palace.’ Presently after comes a priest from Easky-bridge in that country, named Macdonald, with intelligence apparently calculated to quiet their minds: ‘ It was only a few farm-houses that had been burned, because they belonged to noted pillagers.’ This he said in public; many believed at the time, that he told a different story privately to those of his communion. O'Donnel, the busiest of all men this day, made an offer of his service: he would go at the head of a party, and bring back information to be relied on. The people were silent. They did not know whom to trust. The captain might be as bad as the

priest. All were looking to self-preservation, except the dregs of the commonality that longed for pillage.

“ At three o’clock, the report of cannon and small arms towards Ballina could plainly be heard in the town; the very flash of the artillery was discerned from the Steeple-hill. The commandant was on horse-back among the pike-men, whose captains he found busy in framing resolutions for an obstinate defence. The guard at the gate began now to slip away, mindful only of their own safety, and leaving to the mercy of every invader the family that had fed, and for the last seven days had also paid them for their attendance, at the rate of two guineas a-day. For on a complaint from their captain, O’Donnel, that his men thought it very hard to be detained on military duty, at a time when they could each earn above a shilling a-day at the harvest, the bishop had agreed to pay the ordinary guard of the town, consisting of fifty men, ten pence per man for one week, leaving the same burden to be sustained by the town’s people for the week immediately following; and the guard, that were now melting from him, had received their first week’s pay. Some of the poor fellows, however, continued on their post to the last. During the whole of Saturday morning the castle was more still and quiet than at any time since the invasion, it had been even at midnight.

“ The hour of dinner was not equally tranquil. As the cloth was removing, O’Donnel joins the company to take a solemn leave of us, being on the point, he



said, of leading his men, at their own desire, to Bal-lina. He takes one glass, filled out for him by Mrs Stock, commends us to heaven, and disappears. In five minutes, the parlour door flies open with a crash; the bishop's gardener enters exclaiming, ' Captain O'Donnel is dead! he has been this moment killed by one of his own men.' At his back followed Mr Marshall, the presbyterian minister, who with arms extended, and every symptom of terror, screeches out, ' Captain O'Donnel is dead! I saw him this instant pulled from his horse, and killed!'

' Thank you, Mr Marshall,' said the dean, looking at his affrighted wife, in her then condition; ' you have done your best to kill more than one of us.'

" The bishop also was hurt by this unguarded action of Mr Marshall, and with some sharpness expressed a wish ' that he could defend his family from the intrusion of ill news, at least at meal times.' The poor man looked so mortified at the reproof, that the blow recoiled instantly on him that gave it. Mr M. withdrew—but the bishop sought him out soon after, and asked and obtained his pardon.

" All rose to inquire about O'Donnel. He was found in the yard with only a slight wound in the back of his hand. A drunken fellow had resisted his orders, when he desired his men to march, and being struck with a pistol, fell, and pulled the captain off his horse upon his back on the ground. O'Donnel was

on his feet in a moment, and with the butt end of his pistol laid open the skull of the offender, whom he left in the guard-room. He himself was soon in a condition to resume his march, and away he went with about three hundred followers, taking the road to Crosmalina. Ponson, who was sent out to reconnoitre, now came back with news, that the English were within four miles of Killalla ; and with this the inconsiderate creature betook himself to his customary employment of singing and whistling.

“ The night was uncommonly wet, which contributed to our quiet. Favourable in this respect, the season was much against us in another ; for it retarded the march of our deliverers to that degree, that general Trench was not able to keep his promise of being with us in the forenoon of next day, having found it necessary to encamp for the night at Crosmalina. Here an alarm, and some confusion among the king's troops, was occasioned by their picquet of sixteen horse falling in with young Macguire, who with two horsemen had advanced about a mile before O'Donnel's men from Killalla, and came up with the picquet after night-fall. Macguire boldly charged them, fired his pistol, and followed them into the very town, assisted by the darkness, till on hearing the drums beat to arms, he thought it prudent to retire. His cousin O'Donnel had committed the charge of his party to this youth, being himself unable to proceed on the march farther than Rappagh, the seat of Mr Knox, where a sickness at stomach overtook him,

which forced him to accept a bed from young Mr Knox, after he had procured from that gentleman a drink for his three hundred men. On the strength of this liquor the rebels bore the fatigue of a rainy march very well, till Macguire, their vaunt courier, brought them word that the royal army was beating to arms at Crosmalina. Then, for the first time, they began to recollect, that they had too little ammunition to stand a regular engagement. So they took counsel from their leader (or their fears) and listening with pleasure to the salutary word ‘Retreat,’ they broke, and made the best of their way, most of them, to their own homes; about thirty of the stoutest were collected in the morning by O’Donnel, who led them back to Killalla.

“ On this night, as well as for the nine that preceded it, the gentlemen that slept in the library took their turns at watching till morning for the common safety, and visiting the guards posted through the house. All were harrassed by a duty so fatiguing, but the French officers most, who for several nights together did not enjoy an hour’s repose. The family spoke in whispers one to another, some desponding, some blaming the tardiness of government in sending us relief, some inquiring anxiously for news, and some endeavouring to steal into privacy, where they might unload their hearts with freedom before the Throne of Mercy.

“ The twenty-third of September, Sunday, and the day of the equinox, opened on us with the same

heavy fall of rain which had continued throughout the night; but the sky cleared before noon. At breakfast our company was enlarged by the addition of two fugitive officers from Ballina, Messrs Truc and O'Keon.—‘The English were come to Ballina. What man could do, the heroic Truc had atchieved. An English officer had summoned him to render himself prisoner, and advanced to lay hold of him; but he shook him off, and in the struggle pulled away the officer's epaulette,’ which he produced in triumph, ‘got on horseback, and with O'Keon, whom he overtook on the road, was come to fight it out to the last at Killalla.’ This vapouring tale was soon discovered to be a downright lie. Truc, in the confusion when Ballina was entered by the king's troops, had escaped on the first horse he could catch, bringing with him an old voluntéer epaulette, the property of colonel King, and stolen by Truc out of the colonel's wardrobe. The appearance of this man corresponded with the character we had heard of him—a front of brass, an incessant fraudulent smile, manners altogether vulgar, and in his dress and person a neglect of cleanliness, even beyond the affected negligence of republicans. Our poor commandant seemed to like him no better than we did ourselves, though he was forced to welcome him at our breakfast with a kiss on each cheek, the modern fraternal embrace—a sight that would have provoked our smiles, had we been in a humour to be amused. But every thought was now absorbed by the expectation of the approaching scene: even the

sacred duties of the day were for the first time suspended.

“ Before he took horse for the engagement, O'Donnel claimed the privilege of a messmate to ask counsel of Mr Fortescue and the bishop what he should do. ‘ I think I might expect pardon,’ said he, ‘ from the share I have had in preserving the peace of this district. But the people would never forgive me if I did not stand by them now ; and their revenge would follow me into Erris, should I attempt to retreat home. I am not afraid to die ; but if I could save my life with honour, I would.’ No counsel, it was evident, could be given him, but that he should fight till he saw the battle turn (which, his advisers told him, would not be a long time) and then endeavour to escape to his own country. The young man followed this advice, as far as he was able. Pushed into the town with the fugitives, he galloped about the streets to bring up a reinforcement, when a spirited mare was shot under him. He then escaped on foot to the fields on the other side from the scene of action, where incumbered as he was with boots and a long French surtout coat, he was soon overtaken, and pierced with a ball through the back. The Highlander that killed him reported his last words to be, ‘ I am Ferdy O'Donnel : go tell the bishop I am shot.’ The bishop was sorry for his death. Harrassed as he had been by his forward and pert behaviour, during the long space of time O'Donnel had passed under his roof, an uninvited guest, he could not forget the services he had rendered to the town by



frequently hazarding his person to restrain plunderers. The body, which after being stript had been thrown into a potatoe ridge, was by the bishop's order removed three days after, and interred in the church-yard.

“ The peaceful inhabitants of Killalla were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold---a battle! a sight which no person that has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives from Ballina, women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

“ The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that general Trench had divided his forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald, the knight of Kerry; their colonel, the earl of Glandore, attending the general. It is a cir-



cumstance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killalla, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers to lose no time in coming to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite side, though they had a league more of road to perform.

“ The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

“ The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears. Mr Fortescue very humanely took upon him the direction of the women and children, whom he placed as far as he could from the windows, and made them remain prostrate on the carpets till the business was quite over. He himself could not refrain from taking his stand at a window of the

library looking seaward, which, with the other windows of that room, he had barricaded with beds, leaving room to peep over them. A malicious rascal in the sea-grove observed his position, and calling to a woman in the road to stand out of his way till he should ‘do for that tall fellow,’ he discharged the contents of a carabine full at the window, with such effect, that twelve slugs made as many holes in passing through the glass. The bed saved the lives of Mr Fortescue and Henry Stock, the bishop’s son, who was standing behind; but two of the slugs were lodged in Mr Fortescue’s forehead, providentially without penetrating the bone, or hurting him materially, though one slug was not extracted till a considerable time afterward, when he reached Dublin.

“The bishop saw the action from behind the breast of a chimney, where he could only be reached by an oblique shot. Curiosity, and the interest we all felt in the event, prompted every man in the house to expose his person by creeping to the windows. Our French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain, and had avowed to us their determination to surrender to the very superior force that was coming against them.

“We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing

enemy, yet (strange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of Highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls; they had marshy ground on the left to surmount before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. Then followed the Queen's-county militia and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day.

“ After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the townsfolk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. It happened that the measure was attended with the desired success. A great number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry militia from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory forming one of the horns of the bay of

Killalla. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

“ Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves. The first house, after passing the bishop's, is that of Mr William Kirkwood, the magistrate so often mentioned. Its situation exposed it on this occasion to peculiar danger, as it fronts the main street, which was raked entirely by a line of fire. A flying rebel had burst through the door, followed by six or seven soldiers; they poured a volley of musquetry after him, that proved fatal to Mr Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out, ‘ God save the king.’ Presentiments, as they are called, of evil should be resisted, for they often work their own accomplishment. This poor man, though nobody wished more ardently than he did to see the town recovered from the rebels, had taken up a strong persuasion that he should not outlive that event. Of course, he grew more restless every hour, in proportion as the time of the conflict drew nigh. The whole of the evening before, he continued to importune his wife with directions how he would have his family concerns disposed; and when the firing began, he could not contain himself in his own house, where he had the best chance of remaining safe, and where those who staid received no hurt, but

removed to the very insecure dwelling of his kinsman : here he met his fate in the manner related, by a ball through the brain. A purse of guineas, which, with the inconsistency of a distracted mind, he had stowed into his pocket, though he expected death, disappeared, while they were moving his body from the passage into the kitchen.

“ In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle, most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaping with life by lying prostrate on the floor as at the castle. Nor was it till the close of the next day, that our ears were relieved from the horrid sound of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. The plague of war so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety ; it is actual inspection only, that shews the monster in its proper deformity.

“ When the army was beginning to move from Cros-malina, they passed by a wounded man lying at the road side, bleeding to death by a dreadful cut across the face, and to appearance expiring. Not a few stooped to look at him, and remarked that it would be an act of charity to put him out of his pain by dispatching him ; but nobody had the heart to do it. After all had passed him, Arthur Stock, the bishop’s

son, who brought up the rear, looking back saw the poor creature lift up his hands in a despairing manner, as if he complained of them for not terminating his misery. Familiarity with scenes of this kind blunts and overcomes the instincts of our nature; and it is necessary for the common safety, that in some breasts they should be overcome. But it would be well if the thoughtless multitude, who are so ready to rush into civil war, could have an insight from time to time into its sanguinary effects.

“What heart can forget the impression it has received from the glance of a fellow-creature pleading for his life, with a crowd of bayonets at his breast? The eye of Demosthenes never emitted so penetrating a beam, in his most enraptured flight of oratory. Such a man was dragged before the bishop on the day after the battle, while the hand of slaughter was still in pursuit of unresisting peasants through the town. In the agonies of terror, the prisoner thought to save his life by crying out, ‘that he was known to the bishop.’ Alas! the bishop knew him not; neither did he look like a good man. But the arms and the whole body of the person to whom he flew for protection were over him immediately. Memory suggested rapidly---

‘What a piece of workmanship is man! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!—’\*

---

\* Hamlet.



“ ‘ And you are going to deface this admirable work.’ As indeed they did. For though the soldiers promised to let the unfortunate man remain in custody till he should have a trial; yet when they found he was not known, they pulled him out of the courtyard, as soon as the bishop’s back was turned, and shot him at the gate.

A a 3



## C H A P. XX.

AS soon as matters had been brought to the decision of the sword, the friends of government had little cause to be apprehensive for themselves; but their fears were justly awake for the condition in which they might possibly find those of their own party at Killa. ‘Is the bishop alive? are his family unhurt?’ These were the first questions that were asked by every officer as he came up to the castle gate, and with an earnestness that warmed the hearts of those that heard them. That amiable nobleman, the earl of Portarlington, colonel of the Queen’s-county militia (who has since paid, alas! the forfeit of a most valuable life to exertions beyond his strength in suppressing the rebellion) when he was told the bishop was safe, exclaimed with clasped hands, ‘God be praised!’ and continued his pursuit of the rebels, so that the bishop never had the opportunity of thanking his lordship for his kindness to one almost a stranger to him. In the troop of horse that swept the rebels before them into the town, was Arthur Stock, armed only with a

sabre, and in an old red jacket quite too large for him. The humanity of general Trench had provided this mode of conveying him to us from Castlebar, as the safest he could contrive for him. With a breathless impatience the poor youth threw himself from his horse at the gate to ask the question that Joseph puts to his brethren, *Doth my father yet live?* It was a tender scene; for every body was eager to press to his bosom an adventurer of sixteen years, who had suffered so much hardship. He had been in the action at Castlebar, where the pike-men under O'Keon were put to the rout; and he had passed the last night under so heavy a rain, that he was compelled after some time to take off all his clothes, and make his bed of wet straw on the floor of a cabin. A slight disorder was the consequence, which happily soon went off.

“Charost expressed as much joy at seeing Arthur safe, as if he had himself been one of the family. Yet the poor commandant had no reason to be pleased at the treatment he had received immediately after the action. He had returned to the castle for his sabre, and advanced with it to the gate, in order to deliver it up to some English officer, when it was seized and forced from his hand by a common soldier of Frazer's. He came in, got another sword, which he surrendered to an officer, and turned to re-enter the hall. At this moment a second Highlander burst through the gate, in spite of the centinel placed there by the general, and fired at the commandant, with an aim that was near

proving fatal ; for the ball passed under his arm, piercing a very thick door entirely through, and lodging in the jamb. Had we lost the worthy man by such an accident, his death would have spoiled the whole relish of our present enjoyment. He complained, and received an apology for the soldier's behaviour from his officer. Leave was immediately granted to the French officers to keep their swords, their effects, and even their bed-chamber in the house. But the bishop found a difficulty to obtain the same indulgence for O'Keon, whose plea that he was a naturalized Frenchman, was pretty generally disregarded, and himself considered as an Irish rebel, to be speedily brought before a court-martial. However, at last they were allowed to be kept together, including their cannoneer, and a little French servant of O'Keon's, till the following day..

“ General Trench was received by the bishop and his family, in the lobby, with a welcome, of the sincerity of which there could be very little doubt. He expressed, in very polite terms, his satisfaction at the deliverance of this family from so great a peril as had hung over us for the last month ; adding, that he had not failed to use every exertion to come to our relief, from the moment that our embassy had fully apprised him of our distressful situation. He then presented to the bishop his principal officers, with some of whom he was previously well acquainted, particularly his much valued college intimate, the earl of Glandore. Lieutenant-colonel Crosbie, major Fitzgerald (commonly called the knight of Kerry,) major Trench, brother to

the general, his nephew and aide-de-camp, major Taylor; major Acheson, son to Lord Gosford, colonel Fraser, major M'Donald, captain Harrison, the commissary, colonel Jackson, and some officers of the county militia, as Mr Ormesby, Mr Orme, and others, paid their compliments of congratulation, and were accommodated by the bishop in the best manner he was able. Bed and board was provided for five resident officers, and occasionally every day for some others.

“The commandant and his party were ordered away on Tuesday, to Castlebar, with the Kerry regiment. Horses were found, not without difficulty, to convey their persons: the bulk of their effects was forwarded to them, on their arrival in Dublin, by the bishop. We parted, not without tears, with our friends and protectors. The good-natured reader will doubtless share in the pleasure, with which we record the notice that was taken every where of our French officers, for the part they had acted at Killalla. Our government was pleased to forward them presently to London, giving them what money they wanted, for their draft on the commissary of prisoners, Niou; so that, passing but two or three days in Dublin, they could dine but twice with the bishop's connections, my lord Primate making them partake of his hospitality one day, and alderman Kirkpatrick another. From London, the bishop had a letter from the committee for taking care of French prisoners, desiring to be informed in what manner he, and his, had been treated by the

French officers ; and, on the bishop's report, an order was obtained, that citizens Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, should be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange \*. They overtook their general at Dover ; who was so sensible of the attention shewn to his officers, that he wrote to the bishop a letter, of which a translation appeared in the Dublin journal, and since, in the narrative published by Jones. The original will be found in our appendix.

“ The week that followed the battle was employed in courts-martial in the morning, and in most crowded dinners at the castle in the evening, a whole bullock was consumed in two days, as the bishop had not less than forty people to feed, besides the officers, and the principals of his own household. General Trench did his best to help out the mess, sharing his bread and fuel with us, and supplying us with beef when he could get it. Mr Denis Browne, lord Altamont's brother, sent the general at one time a whole, and again half a buck, desiring, in return, an immediate remittance of three hundred men to drive away the rebels from Westport. Whether the party went, I did not hear ; the venison deserved it. Our greatest want was wine and groceries. A large order was sent to Sligo by the commissary of stores and the bishop ;

---

\* Niou, the French commissary, refused on the part of his government, to accept of this mark of respect from our ministry.



but the sloop could not sail for some time on account of the equinoctial storms. The officers made out their entertainment as they could, with great patience and cheerfulness, being very agreeable men, and the general extremely so. The French had made the bishop a present of seven barrels of flour brought from their own country, which had been very good, but was a little heated in the voyage : this, made into what is called slim cakes served tolerably well for bread, as there was neither brewing for some time, nor barm. The sloop did not arrive to our relief till after the general was gone.

“ If the people of Killalla were distressed to find accommodation for the multitude of officers that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to their assistance, being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to take the property they had been the means of preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no other respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less of ceremony or excuse, and that his majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing. In consequence, the town very soon grew weary of their guests, and were glad to see them marched off to other quarters. It is but justice to the regiment that has remained at Killalla ever since, the prince of Wales's fencibles, to acknowledge, that they have always behav-

ed themselves with the greatest propriety, under the orders of those two excellent officers, lieutenant-colonel Macartney and major Winstanley. Let it be remembered also, to the honour of our excellent chief governor, that as soon as the country was reduced to quiet, marquis Cornwallis sent two commissioners to Killalla and its vicinity, for the express purpose of ascertaining the damages done by the king's troops, and that, in March following, all authenticated claims on that account were discharged in full by an order on the national bank.

“ The court-marshal began the day after the battle, and sat in the house of Mr Morrison. Their proceedings at first appeared extremely slow, considering the multitudes they had to try, not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killalla, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were general Bellew and Mr Richard Bourke, who have been already introduced to the acquaintance of the reader. The latter after exerting his best endeavours to prolong the contest with the king's troops, had imitated the craft sometimes observable in the fox ; he had slipt in with the crowd of loyalists, and was found, with every appearance of a peaceable subject, sitting in the bishop's lobby, and chatting familiarly with different people as they entered, till he was recognized and taken into custody by Mr Ormsby. The trial of these two criminals was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in

the park behind the castle. Contemptible for drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion.

“ Roger Macguire, our late ambassador to Castlebar, occasioned considerable delay. It was urged in his favour, particularly by dean Thompsom, that in their late journey he had often heard him speak to the people in favour of pacific measures, and of lenity to the protestants. On the other hand, general Trench and his officers could not readily forget the insolent behaviour of this young fellow at Castlebar, under which assumed carriage he strove to conceal his apprehension of danger, when he was so grievously (and indeed so inconsiderately) threatened by Mr Denis Browne and others, on his entering the town, as we have already observed. After a long imprisonment at Killalla, Macguire was transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he received sentence to be transported to Botany-bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged: his brothers, more active in treason and mischief than himself, have not yet been taken.

“ Broken weather increased the difficulty of keeping a force together in such a place as Killalla, their tents affording a poor shelter against the rain and storms of this season of the year. General Trench therefore made haste to clear the wild districts of the Laggan and Erris by pushing detachments into each, who were able to do little more than to burn a number of cabins; for the people had too many hiding

places to be easily overtaken. Enough however was effected to impress upon the minds of the sufferers a conviction, that joining with the enemies of their country against their lawful sovereign was not a matter of so little moment as they had ignorantly imagined; and probably the memory of what they now endured will not be effaced for years. There are those, however, who think differently; who say these mountaineers will be always ripe for insurrection, and who urge in proof the mischief they have done very lately by robbery and houghing of cattle. Yet surely our common nature will incline us to make some concession to the feelings of men driven, though by their own fault, from their farms and from their dwellings, wretched dwellings to be sure, but to them—(that poor fellow's lesson to the bishop\* is worth remembering!) certainly as valuable as to the grandee his palace. Let a man look round from the summit of one of those mountains that guard our islands against the incursions of the Atlantic, and say what he should think of passing a winter among them without the covering of a hut.

“The disposal of the powder left at the castle by the French, was one of the first things that occupied the attention of general Trench; especially after the accident, mentioned above, had made every body sensible of the necessity of speedily removing it. He

wrote that very day to government, and desired to have the lord lieutenant's commands respecting it; yet the carriages did not arrive for transporting it to Athlone till the fifth of October, probably from the difficulty of procuring the means of conveyance at that season. The bishop was heartily glad to be rid of this deposit, if that might be so named, which was placed in his hands against his will and consent. The French, as the reader will see by the annexed affidavit of captain Bull, took it into their heads to be angry with the bishop for betraying their powder to the king's officer; as if he owed *them* allegiance, or was responsible to them for a trust he had not undertaken, and which he would have rejected with abhorrence. All the share he had in saving this powder for his majesty's use, consisted in suggesting to the French commandant the real and absolute impossibility of throwing it into the sea, in the presence of people who waited eagerly and continually to seize it for their own destructive purposes. The powder, though coarse, was said to be good enough for use: the whole, at one shilling the pound, must have been worth upwards of thirteen hundred pounds sterling.

“ On the 29th, an address was presented to general Trench from the barony of Tyrawley, thanking him and his army for the good service of Sunday last, to which a polite answer was presently returned by the general. They have appeared in the public prints.

“ The opportunity of an escort to Castlebar, carried



away from us this day our worthy friends, the Thomp-  
sons, with their three boys and a girl; a family whose  
real value we should hardly have known but for our  
captivity. Mr Fortescue embraced the same oppor-  
tunity. And the succeeding day, by the departure  
of general Trench with the Kerry officers to Castlebar,  
the town of Killalla was left to the defence of the  
prince of Wales's fencibles. The detachment that had  
been sent into Erris on the thirtieth of September,  
returned the seventh of the following month, after  
suffering and inflicting a good deal of misery.

“ As the storm of war seemed now to have spent its  
force, the bishop began to try what he could do in  
order to render his situation at Killalla easy at least,  
if he could not restore the comfortable posture in  
which the invasion found him. His greatest inconve-  
nience was, that it was out of his power, as matters  
stood, to return to the exclusive use of his own house.  
The guard, which was relieved every day, being sta-  
tioned in one of the offices at the castle, it became a  
duty of common politeness to offer a bed to the officer  
that commanded the guard. The same compliment  
could hardly be refused to another officer of the regi-  
ment, who coming later than the rest to Killalla,  
could not possibly find a lodging in the town. And  
these two officers naturally grew to be messmates in  
the family, the bishop wishing by every means in his  
power to shew his sense of the protection afforded to  
the town by his majesty's army. But the labour and  
weariness of living thus in a manner in public, and for



a constancy, may be easily conceived, at least it need not be described to any man that is fond of retirement and study. The messing indeed was laid aside, from the moment the gentlemen were aware of the bishop's inability to bear the annoyance of continual public dinners; but the bedchambers could not be refused; a circumstance which precluded the exercise of hospitality towards the bishop's friends or his clergy, his own family being so numerous. Neither was it by any means clear to the people of Killalla, if they set themselves to repair the damages they had sustained by the war, that they would be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The winter was coming on; a multitude of rebels were scattered through the mountains, likely to be rendered desperate by want; and perhaps too the French might find means to effect another and a more powerful invasion in the same place where they had landed before.

“ These reasons were often urged to the bishop by his friends in the capital, to induce him to remove with his family thither without delay; but he had fixed his resolution to remain where he was for that winter. After the losses he had sustained, his circumstances stood in the way of an expensive journey to Dublin; and if that had not been the case, he found by many trials, that his presence was likely to be useful to his country neighbours, either in assisting to obtain compensation for them, or clearing them from ill-founded charges of disaffection. From the rebels in the mountains he apprehended no danger, as long

as the military were left to protect the town; and as to another attempt from the French in the very same quarter, and on the verge of winter, it was an event too far removed from probability to be a reasonable ground for retreating.

“ But experience quickly proved, that what is not probable may nevertheless be very true. On the morning of the 27th of October, 1798, three of the same frigates which had brought over Humbert's army in August, in company with a fourth, carrying all together 2000 land forces, anchored in the bay of Killalla, precisely in the spot where they had made good their first landing. They formed a part of the armament, which, so happily for Ireland and the British empire, was destroyed by the glorious action off Rutland under the auspices of sir John B. Warren. The alarm was taken, the moment these ships appeared; for our late sufferings had taught us what might be expected from vessels of that size. Two officers of the prince of Wales's, captain Bull and lieutenant Leurry, were sent at different times by major Winstanley, to inquire what they were, and if friends, to deliver dispatches which had just come down to him from the capital. A party under the orders of captain Frazer went to take their station behind Kilcummin head, under which the ships were moored, about a league from Killalla, to watch and make reports.

“ The officers not returning in the time expected,

the panic became universal. Every male inhabitant in the place crowded to Steeple-hill, anxiously looking out to the ships, and forming conjectures. An old sailor, who had often seen the like, pronounced them to be French by their white sails, and by their seeming to stand out of the water more than ours. At length a yeoman horseman appeared on the opposite hill, coming down in full gallop. To the spectators his out-stretched arms told the bad news even before his words : ‘ Captain Frazer had bid him say to the ‘ major, the ships were certainly French, and the ‘ enemy was landing.’ It was discovered, after the fright was passed, that this pestilent fellow had truly reported only half his message : for he was charged to say, ‘ the enemy was *not yet* landed.’ But either his wits were unsettled by terror, or he was carried away by the passion men feel for relating marvellous news, let it be ever so horrible.

“ In half an hour, the town of Killalla had scarcely an inhabitant left, except the military. The occasion was so instant, that every body was in motion before they had time to reflect how they should go, or whether they ought to go at all : for the weather was cold and stormy, the road to the next town (Ballina) deep mud, especially near Killalla, and the last invasion had left to very few any other means of conveyance but their feet. On foot the bishop set out at the head of his whole household, except two sons who staid to preserve their father’s property as long as they could. Two little daughters by his side waded through the

dirt. The other children got upon cars, with their mother and aunt, invalids, that had not been exposed to the air for the last two months; and one of them, Mrs Stock, liable on any cold to a sudden attack of the gout in her stomach, which had more than once threatened her existence. While they were on the road, gusts of wind, and at last a heavy shower of hail, unfortunately fell on them. All seemed to the bishop to be now over. He must expect to lose the mother of such a family, the companion with whom he had passed twenty years of his life in the sunshine absolutely uninterrupted by one transient cloud. He saw it, almost without a reflection. There is a pause of mind on the apprehended explosion of some enormous mischief, resembling the stillness that fills the horizon before a thunder clap. At intervals—when thought returned—what he was able to do he did. He raised his eyes, and adored in silence the uplifted hand of the Almighty. That hand, as he had soon the happiness to experience, was lifted, not to destroy, but to save.

“ The procession reached Ballina about six in the evening, after a march of two hours, in the course of which they passed the Armagh militia, hastening to Killalla to join the prince of Wales's. And here the bishop and his family were much indebted to the hospitality of brigade-major Cunningham and his lady, that they did not suffer more by so unseasonable a flight. The house in which the major resided was colonel King's, in happier times one of the best and most

comfortable dwellings in the whole country ; but it had suffered so much damage in the rebellion, when it was occupied by Truc, that it was now no easy matter to find a warm seat in it, scarcely a window being without one or more broken panes of glass, and a furious wind pervading the whole house. However, the entire groupe of fugitives had got into bed, when at midnight an express came to the major from Killalla, with intelligence, which that good-natured officer thought his guests would be glad to hear immediately, though they were awaked out of their sleep for it. Major Winstanley had sent word, that the French frigates had suddenly slipt their cables, and withdrawn from our bay.

“ The two officers that were carried off by this squadron to France, messrs. Bull and Leurry, found their way back again to their regiment near four months afterwards. From their report it appears, that a cutter they had on the watch having apprised the enemy that an English squadron was heaving in sight, for which they were conscious they were not a match, they made off to sea, with so much precipitation, that the largest frigate cut her cable, leaving an anchor behind her, which is thought to be very well worth the weighing up. The squadron was close pursued by two line of battle ships, the Cæsar and the Tremendous (as report said) even to the distance of ninety leagues, and had for a considerable time very little hope of an escape, though they at last effected it by throwing every thing they could spare overboard, and thus outsailing



ships that were crippled in the late action with the Hoche and others.

“ Next day with joyful hearts all the inhabitants of Killalla returned home, where no mischief had happened during their short absence. By the good providence of God the ladies of the bishop’s family escaped the danger to their health, of which they had so much reason to be apprehensive ; nor did any of the children take cold, except one little girl that walked, who had a low fever in consequence, which did not quit her for three weeks.

“ After this alarm, there was no resisting the importunity of the bishop’s friends, recalling him to Dublin. To stay longer in a post of so much danger was generally pronounced to be a tempting of Providence. Their arguments would have carried irresistible weight (had a further weight been necessary,) if the bishop or his friends had then been in possession of the intelligence, which they have since received from captain Bull, whose testimony is here laid before the reader.



“ Captain Joseph Bull, of the prince of Wales’s fencible infantry, who was taken prisoner by the fleet in Killalla bay, being sent out with dispatches by order of the commanding officer, maketh oath and saith :



“ That on his being taken on board, and during his voyage to France in La Concorde French frigate, he was often told by most of the officers on board, both naval and military, that had they landed their troops when they appeared in the bay of Killalla on the 27th of October, they had the most positive orders to send the bishop of Killalla and his family immediately prisoners to France.

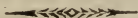
“ That on his (captain Bull’s) asking them the reason of this step, their answer was, that the bishop had betrayed to the King’s troops, and had likewise delivered up the ammunition that was brought in by the French during the time they were in possession of the town of Killalla.

“ Captain Bull further says, he took every step that he thought was likely to prove this report entirely groundless, but is sorry to say, without effect. And says, that had they met with any opposition in landing, their determination was, to lay the town in ashes.

“ Sworn before me at Killalla, March 1, 1799.

WILLIAM KIRKWOOD.”

Joseph Bull, captain of  
the prince of Wales’s  
fencible regiment.



, In the course of this unfortunate and ill-conducted rebellion, among a number of chiefs and inferior insur-

gents who were tried and executed, “ particular notice and particular compassion are due to two men, who, Irishmen by birth, had been in the military service of France before the invasion, had come to Ireland in the French fleet, and had, as well as the best of the French officers, used the most active exertions to save the lives and properties of loyalists. These were Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone, whose generous humanity, made evident on their trials, and steady fortitude under sentence and execution, command our pity, and for their personal qualities our esteem. They were tried in Dublin barrack, and executed---the former on the twenty-fourth of September, the latter a few days after.

“ The little army of Humbert had been intended only to be a vanguard of a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French administrators were as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in seconding those of the southern rebels of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, a brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, near the north-west coast of Donegal, on the sixteenth of September, and landed its crew; among whom was the celebrated James Napper Tandy, now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed of the surrender of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite an

insurrection by their manifestoes in that quarter, they re-embarked, and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburgh by some British agents. In this action the dignity of a neutral state was contemptuously violated, and the influence of the emperor of Russia was solicited and obtained to intimidate the Hamburghers into an acquiescence in this violation, which exposed them at the same time to the resentment of the French government. So mighty a fuss about such an object, such a mountain in labour, confirmed many in an opinion of a puerile weakness in the British ministers. Tandy was tried at Lifford, at the spring assizes for 1801, and pleading guilty, received his majesty's pardon on condition of emigration; in consequence of which he emigrated to France, where he died.

“ On board one of the French ships, captured by admiral Warren, was found Theobald Wolfe Tone, a celebrated lawyer, and brother to Matthew Tone, already mentioned, whose activity and talents had contributed to give life to a formidable conspiracy, which received a deadly wound by the miscarriage of the French armament, and which can hardly be said to have survived his fate. Tried by a court-martial in the capital, he rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, an officer in the service of that country, and pretended not to deny the charge against him, nor even to excuse his political conduct. Found guilty, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being ignominiously hanged

as a felon; and, on the refusal of this request, cut his own throat in the prison. The operation being incompletely performed, hopes were entertained of his recovery; and on the next morning John Philpot Curran, esq. the famous barrister, made a motion in the court of king's bench for a writ of habeas corpus in his favour, upon the ground that "courts-martial have no jurisdiction over subjects not in military service while the court of king's bench is sitting." After a full discussion of the subject, the plea was admitted; but from the condition of Tone, his removal from prison, according to the writ, was deemed unsafe, and he shortly after died from the self-inflicted wound.

"With the reduction of the ravaging bands in the mountains of Wicklow, under Holt and Hackett, the last professed champions in arms of the united conspiracy, and with the death of Tone, its chief original projector, ended a rebellion, of which the deep and artful scheme demonstrated the ability, but the immediate consequences, the ignorance of its authors with respect to the instruments which they were obliged to employ.

"The evil consequences of this rebellion were, notwithstanding the small extent and duration of armed opposition to government, too many to be distinctly particularized. To the general mass of evils, of some of which a faint idea may be formed from the foregoing pages, a corruption of morals in the disturbed

parts made a lamentable addition. To dwell on the sad propensity to extortion, cheating, pilfering, and robbing, acquired or encouraged by a temporary dissolution of civil government; on the practice of perjury and bribery in the accusation and defence of real or supposed criminals; and of perjury in claims of losses, even by persons who might well be supposed superior to such meanness, laying aside religious considerations, would be attended with more pain than utility. Even dissipation, which might reasonably be expected to be checked by the calamities attendant on this cruel commotion, seemed to revive with augmented force on the subsiding of the insurrection. Collected in towns, in the following winter, many of the lower sort of loyalists spent the days in drunkenness, and their superiors the nights in late suppers and riotous conviviality. One good consequence, however, of their assembling in towns was the promotion of matrimony. Young people of the two sexes being brought together, who might otherwise have remained unacquainted with one another, an extraordinary number of marriages took place, as if Providence intended thus to repair the waste of civil war."

Dd 2







## APPENDIX.



No. I.---VOL. I. p. 222.

*Constitution of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of Dublin, as first agreed upon.*

THE society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such persons only are eligible as honorary members, who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a

fit person to be admitted, that he has seen the test, and is willing to take it. This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair, at the ensuing meeting of the society; and on the next subsequent night of meeting the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test:--*See Vol. I. p. 234.*

A member of another society of United Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the before-mentioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally

elected three months, *videlicet*, on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide; if the votes are equal, the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death or otherwise, the society shall, on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night, or oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock, from twenty-ninth September to twenty-fifth March; and at nine o'clock, from twenty-fifth March to twenty-ninth September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum; no new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president; his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members; the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair, and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated; he shall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not exceeding one crown; if the

member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members, that of finance of seven members, that of correspondence of five members: each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence; the election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expences, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall on his election pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee; and also one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member, after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society, unless he can shew some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal, *videlicet*, a harp; at the top, “*I am new strung;*” at the bottom, “*I will be heard;*” and on the exergue, “*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.*”

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereupon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

## No. II.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

Friday, 30th of December, 1791.

*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.—The Hon.  
Simon Butler in the chair.*

Resolved unanimously,

That the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed:

This letter is addressed to you from the correspond-

ing committee of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen citizens; all citizens, Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common right, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature, resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or



as parties ; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves ; the weakness of one and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power ; it is wisdom ; it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and consecrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which those ancestors stained with blood ? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy ; on the other, an unfortunate nation, “ scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down !” We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent : but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquil-

lity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them : If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same ; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people ; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the grant body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution; where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community ? “ A more unjust  
“ and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than  
“ that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of  
“ strangers and slaves.”

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for

whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community; we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their action on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees : Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour ? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother ? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty round a society of this kind as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract number, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, be-

come not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the county or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater probably will be the resistance: We know that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty and the

peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings, like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *sec.*

### No. III.

#### THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

*Published and circulated since the rebellion was put down,  
for the purpose of keeping the flame of it alive.*

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the supreme majesty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulness of insurrection, and of resistance to oppression. I believe in a revolution founded on the rights of man, in the natural and imprescriptable right of *all* the Irish citizens to all the land. I believe the soil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the consent of the people, or their representatives, convened and authorised, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but



by purchase, or as rewards for forwarding and preserving the public liberty. I believe our present connexion with England must be speedily dissolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour should be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious distinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe-gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

Question. What are you ?

Answer. An Irishman.

Q. As an Irishman, what do you hope for ?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair division of the land, an abolition of religious establishments, and a representative government.

Q. What benefit do you propose to your country, by what you call emancipation ?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domestic tyranny it generated, which is cal-

culated to corrupt our morals, impoverish our people, and retard our industry.

Q. How do you conceive this ?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—she shuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while she tells us we are an-independent people ; she fosters establishments in our island, contriving to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppressors ?

Q. How are Irish morals injured by England.

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that affect your morals ?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy : she sells to us at her own prices, she deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or sell ; by such means she has the command of all our produce ; we buy dear and sell cheap ; consequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job says, “ Lord, make me not poor, lest I should steal.”

Q. What other reasons have you against English connections, and what other proofs have you of influence on your morals ?

A. England has organized a kind of legislators here, devoted to her interests, and holding their influence and power at her will.

Q. Explain yourself.

A. Those law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itself is criminal ; as men making laws, being of one profession, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legislative assembly of tanners would make leather dear ; of weavers, would increase the price of cloth ; of schoolmasters, would monopolize instruction. Our law-makers contrive to make spirituous liquors in more general use than bread, they are constantly canting on the drunkenness of the people, and take no pains to discourage distillation, as it raises the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle ; they sell the liquor and accuse us of drunkenness ; they export our raw materials ; they say we are idlers, and mock our poverty ; they import tobacco for our use, and export our beef and butter. Thus the necessities of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poisonous plant given us for the same purposes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers ?

A. By being poor we must be on the alert, to pro-

cure the necessities of life, which makes true the old maxim, they "keep us poor and busy." Our time will be spent studying to avoid want, instead of inquiring the cause of it; for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny.

Q. What benefit, in a general sense, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland, delivered from England, would give us immense resources, innumerable means of employing our people, would extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the sugars of the West-Indies, seventy per cent. cheaper from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas and produce of the Indies, we could also have, in the same advantageous manner, from the same nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation. Other branches of trade and other resources of riches and employments would unfold themselves to independent Ireland, now impossible to enumerate.

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every understanding. If the Creator intended any superior rank among men, it is that of superior abilities or superior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we should see noblemen, not the same impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught

creatures, so common among the artificial orders. We should have them born without wanting any of those acquirements that appear so necessary to every rank, which is the result of tedious instruction, and persevering industry, their childhood would be distinguished by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued; they would come into the world finished statesmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-masters, hair-dressers, tailors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, stars, and coronets.

Q. Not appearing in infancy to have any visible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of those who are advocates for equality?

A. Undoubtedly. Many persons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raised by accidental circumstances from the loins of footmen, low tradesmen, and infamous gamblers; the whole of them may be said, within the last century, to be the descendants of English ruffians, adventurers, whose crimes or obscurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign seduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the same; but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

Q. What inconvenience do Irishmen find by the privileged orders?

A. We have manifold complaints against the unnatural institution: they are an association in alliance with the common enemy. They consider the people as an inferior and degraded mass, only made for their amusement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enlist, whenever the tyrant's amusement or ambition is the mode. They influence the whole race of land-holders, who are their creatures or admirers, whose conduct, honour and religion, is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promise a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the disposal of the plunderers of the people.

Q. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your system?

A. By no means; 'tis too absurd to imagine: I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to public employment, whose honesty and abilities are approved of by his countrymen; that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of supposed superiority of rank; that every man, however rich, however connected, should be as amenable to the laws and as subject to punishment as the meanest; that labour, honesty, and public virtue should be protected, and should be the tests of superiority.

Q. What good could a fair division of the land be to Ireland?



A. As the land and its produce was intended for the use of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men to possess what is for the subsistence of near five millions: it exposes the great body of the people to every want and every misery. It is a blasphemy to say the present land-holders in Ireland are to be the "lords of the soil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the soil. As man cannot, in the present improved manners of life, do without shoes, clothes, or food, which are produced from the grass and corn, surely it is unfair that one or one hundred should hold in their hands those necessaries which none ought to want; it is not possible that God can be pleased to see a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a small faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at least tell them, how much they shall eat, and what kind; and how much they shall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of these cruel usurpers, who have formed themselves into a corporation of law-makers, and are constantly exporting our provisions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preserving subordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every servile occupation to earn a scanty livelihood in a country capable of the greatest plenty.

Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preserve the country from anarchy?

A. By dividing the ancient estates among the de-

scendant of those Irish families, who were pillaged by English invaders, giving to every person without exception, a competent share to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood; this provision not to extend to any person who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be sold by public cant, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wishing to abolish religious establishments?

A. To eradicate every reason of jealousy and distrust, to ease the nation of a useless and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide against jealousy and distrust?

A. As every man has a right to make use of any form of worship he thinks most acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjust to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The system of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to ap-

ply it to the use of a disorderly idler, or useless fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that disfigures society, under the specious cloke of religion. By leaving every minister of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people choose men of education and morals, as objects of their esteem. If there were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national stock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of sufficient utility to abolish church establishments.

Q. Let me hear your reasons for a representative government?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create such an immense number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchase their suffrage.

Q. Would that be sufficient to promote your plan?

A. No: I mention it as the first towards true representation: besides the justice of universal suffrage, it has that beauty which must make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor see the advantage of it?

A. As every man, in a free state, votes to secure his liberty and property: the poor man has but his labour, yet it is to him a property: he should have represen-

tatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch, with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumstances occurring in legislative assemblies, lest the labour or employments of the artizan or husbandman should be made uncertain or unfashionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a representative ?

A. None but honesty and abilities ; as every man should be eligible.

Q. Might not a representative betray the trust reposed in him, and be an accomplice in the destruction of his country ?

A. By limiting the existence of representative assemblies, to the period of one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the conduct of their representatives, and should any displeasure by ignorant or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced ; by that means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wisdom can devise.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our existence as a free state ?

A. By no means. As power principally consists in

population, her population cannot be so formidable as to hazard our safety.

Q. Why, she has a more numerous people?

A. She has, in the island of Great Britain, about seven millions, we have near five, she could not send her seven millions on an invasion; though we could fight our whole population against the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defensive.

Q. But she has a navy?

A. Her navy could make little impression on Ireland; a navy may cover a debarkation of troops, and support them while within the reach of the ships guns; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very insufficient force to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England destroy our trade?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign possessions, so we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be some inconvenience?

A. None; as our miserable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the suppressing of it would be beneficial in a state of hostility; our exports are necessaries of life, taken from them who labour; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle, and butter, kept at home, and wines, teas, sugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval consequence of England.

Q. How shall we arrive at the blessings so certain from independence?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union?

A. No: were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as distant as the general death of nature.

Q. Who do you mean should compose this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppressed, every man that labours, every honest man of every religion, every man who loves, and whose love of his country raises the human mind above other trifling distinctions, and loses the petty idea of sects, in the name of Irishman.



No. IV.—VOL. I. p. 299.

*Names of the Members of the Court-martial on Sir  
Edward Crosbie.*

Major Denis, of the 9th dragoons, president.

Captain Martin, of the 9th dragoons.

Captain Sherston, 32d regiment.

Captain Buthin, unattached.

Lieutenant Loftus, 9th dragoons.

Lieutenant Roe, Armagh regiment.

Lieutenant Best, half pay.

Lieutenant Higgins, 9th dragoons.

Lieutenant Ogle, Armagh regiment.

Lieutenant Magrath, North Cork regiment.

Lieutenant Bagwell, 9th dragoons.

Ensign Ellis, Armagh regiment.

Cornet Fleming, 9th dragoons.

“ The insults offered to her,” (lady Crosbie, widow of sir Edward) “ after his death, by the military, became now so alarming, that these, together with a midnight visit from colonel Mahon, of the 9th dragoons, and a party of dragoons, on a frivolous pretence, after what had befallen her lamented husband, excited in her no unreasonable apprehensions for her own security; and she was obliged at length literally to fly for refuge to England.”—*See the pamphlet, p. 9.*

*An exact copy of a letter from Major Denis, in answer to an application for the copy of the minutes of Sir Edward's trial.*

Mount-Mellick, Feb. 1, 1800.

“Madam—I have been honoured with your letter, representing a conversation I had with a lady at Harrowgate, respecting a transaction which occurred during the late rebellion. It concerns me much to renew a subject, which I hoped was buried in oblivion. But as the lady has thought proper to mention the business, and which I thought I was only speaking in confidence, I must beg leave to say, that on her representing to me, that reflection had been cast on the proceedings of the court-martial, of which I was a member, in vindication I declared my sentiments, observing I could by the proceedings prove the assertion I made. The lady will, I am sure, do me justice to recollect what my sentiments were:---that I should be extremely sorry to bring forward any thing to hurt the feelings of any of the family, part of whom I had been acquainted with a long time, and had the highest respect for. No stranger has seen from me, since the unfortunate time I allude to, any copy. I understand applications have already been made to my superior officers for such a copy: I think myself unwarrantable in doing so at present. Any thing in my power, consistent with what I conceive propriety, I would do to serve lady Crosbie, or any of the family; but in the present case, I am sure she will excuse me.

“I am, madam, yours, &c. &c.

HUM. DENIS.

*County of the city } George Lucas, of Browne's-  
of Dublin, to wit. }* hill, in the county of Carlow,  
farmer, late shepherd of sir Edward William Crosbie,  
of View-mount, in the said county, maketh oath,  
that from the nature of this the deponent's employ-  
ment, he was constantly about the house and demesne  
of the said sir Edward William Crosbie, at View-  
mount, aforesaid, and from thence, and from his  
observations of the conduct of the said sir Edward-  
William Crosbie, both before and after the attack of  
the rebels on the town of Carlow, this deponent was  
enabled to give very material evidence in favour of the  
said sir Edward William Crosbie upon his trial, for  
which purpose this deponent was directed to attend at  
the place of trial by lady Crosbie, the wife of the said  
sir Edward William Crosbie. And this deponent  
saith, he has reason to believe that, if the said sir Ed-  
ward William Crosbie had left his house at View-  
mount, on the morning of the day of the attack of  
Carlow by the rebels, and had gone, or attempted to  
go, into the town of Carlow, for the purpose of giving  
any information, or at all, the family and property of  
the said sir Edward William would have been destroy-  
ed by the rebels, who were in full force about the said  
town of Carlow. This deponent saith, that he accor-  
dingly attended on the 2d and 4th days of June, at  
the barrack gate in the town of Carlow, to give evi-  
dence upon the said trial; and saith, that on the 4th  
day of June this deponent was called upon to go into  
the court, and to give evidence for the said sir Edward

William, by Robert Kirwan, gaoler of Carlow, who was the person (as this deponent heard and believes) instructed by the said sir Edward William to call for his witnesses; and this deponent thereupon went forward, and attempted to go into the barrack-yard, for the purpose of giving his evidence before the said court, upon the trial of the said sir Edward William Crosbie, which was then going on. And this deponent saith, that upon his attempting to go forward, for that purpose, the sentinel then on gúard presented his bayonet against this deponent, and refused him entrance, and said deponent should not go in, though he was informed, upon this deponent being so called, that he attended as a witness upon the said trial. And this deponent saith, that Mary Hutchinson, and other material witnesses, who attended to give evidence upon the said trial, in favour of the said sir Edward William Crosbie, were refused admittance in the like manner. And this deponent saith, that he is, and always was, a protestant of the church of Ireland, as by law established, and saith, he never was concerned in the said rebellion, or in any act in favour thereof; and was always a true and faithful subject to the present established government. And this deponent further saith, that this affidavit is made at the special instance and request of the said lady Crosbie.

GEORGE LUCAS.

Sworn before me, Dec. 25, 1800.

JOHN CARLETON.

*The following is an extract of a letter to Mrs Boissier, from the Rev. Robert Robinson; dated Tullow, January 30, 1799.*

“ Your letter found me in a large and gay company, and the revulsion it occasioned had such an effect on me, as I shall not attempt to describe, but which no friend of sir Edward Crosbie need be ashamed to avow; and that I was such is my boast and my pride, notwithstanding the rash and fatal sentence which deprived him of life. No difference of opinion could ever loosen the bonds of amity between him and me, or cool our affection; and as to party spirit, although I profess myself as loyal a subject as any in his majesty's dominions, and sincerely abhor the rebellion, which has of late distracted this unhappy country, yet I should be sorry to consider myself as a partizan. I knew sir Edward's political sentiments well, and do solemnly declare, that he never, to my recollection, uttered a word of treasonable tendency; and with me he was ever unreserved. Would to God he had been less so to others! I will tell you the two grand points on which he was most warm. One was, that he thought this kingdom governed by England rather as a colony than a federal state. The other was, that his noble heart spurned at the hauteur and oppression of the great and rich toward the poor and lowly. On these topics he always expressed himself with ardour, and often in the presence of those who felt themselves *galled*; and this attached to him the

character of disaffected and republican. But I will give you a strong proof that he was not so: the morning that he fought young Burton (of which no doubt you heard) I was saying to him, that I much feared the duel would be imputed to politics, as I knew he had the name of being a republican. His reply was, "If such be the character they give me, it is most undeserved; and I call upon you as my friend, if I fall, to clear my memory from so unfounded a charge, as I am a steady friend to the constitution of king, lords, and commons, with a parliamentary reform, striking off the rotten boroughs." These sentiments, uttered on such an occasion, by a man whom, in a long course of most intimate acquaintance, I never knew guilty of the minutest falsehood, must be admitted as the genuine effusions of his heart; and that he did so express himself to me, I declare on the word of a Christian clergyman. Was he then a republican? No. His own declaration a little before he suffered, and which I read in his own hand writing, clears him from the imputation of being a member of any treasonable society."



## No. V.—VOL. II. p. 5.

BY ORDER OF THE REBEL COUNCIL OF THE COUNTY  
OF WEXFORD.

*Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the most  
public and solemn manner.*

## OATH OF A PRIVATE.

I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God and his only son our Lord Jesus Christ to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageously in the field, and shew mercy where it can be given: that I will avoid drunkenness, tending to disorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as many friends, and as few enemies as possible; that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will stand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

## OATH OF AN OFFICER.

IN the awful presence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, A. B. officer in, &c. do solemnly swear,

that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it: that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment, and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and a coward, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.

So help me God.

Done at the council chamber,  
Wexford, June the 14th, 1798.

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *president*,  
NICHOLAS GRAY, *secretary*.

By the virtuous voice of the people, we whose names are here under written, do appoint our trusty and well-beloved brother, William Fielding Costello, to command our artillery, and commissary of our stores; and we trust this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

EDWARD KYAN,  
JOHN HAY.

[A copy.]

## ERIN GO BRAGH!

*Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.*

WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen :

Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

*God save the People.*

## ERIN GO BRAGH !

*To all Irishmen and soldiers, who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties, these few lines are addressed.*

WE, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good, the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us ; and all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes, to enslave our country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

*God save the People.*

No. VI.—VOL. II. p. 52.

## MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

*County of the city of } THE information of William  
Dublin, to wit. } Fleming, of Taghmón, in the*

county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken prisoner by the rebels at Kilburn, near Taghmon, aforesaid, on Thursday, the thirty-first day of May last, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of said rebels ; and that said Brien asked informant, whether he would be baptized ? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a second baptism necessary. Informant saith, that said Brien asked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war ? to which informant replied, he did not ; on which said Brien told informant that no person would he suffered to live but he that was a true Roman catholic. Informant saith, that said Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, presented it at informant's breast, and declared he would shoot informant, as he did another orange rascal at the camp of Taghmon aforesaid : but that another of said rebels told said Brien, that he had no right or authority to shoot him, unless it was done at the camp. That informant was conducted to the said camp, in the midst of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange rascal that is to be shot ? Informant saith, that his life was saved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr William Devereux, a Roman catholic gentleman, of Taghmon aforesaid, who was a captain of said rebels. That the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, or which he re-

paired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant saith, he was advised by a friend to return to the said town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the second day of June, to the best of his recollection. That some days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in said county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant saith, he was compelled to march with said rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Ross, in said county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the house of one Murphy; that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Ross, he, this said informant, was taken prisoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in said county. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels told him, that he had just put an end to an orange rascal, of the name of Byron; and informant saith, he saw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforesaid, John Byron, a protestant inhabitant of the parish of Taghmon aforesaid, with whom informant was well acquainted; and that said Byron was grievously wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant saith, that said rebels called informant an orange rascal, and threatened to serve him as they did Byron; and informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a pass which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, and that said pass saved the life of infor-



mant. That said rebels had a custom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in case of disobedience; and that informant was compelled by such warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slievekelta, sometime in the beginning of June, where the said rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman; but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr John Devereux, of Taghmon. Informant saith, that father Roche, a priest, and who was commander in chief of said camp, preached a sermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: "That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their ancestors, and that they must persevere. That they should examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or disaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not prosper or thrive while they had such among them." Informant saith, he was again taken prisoner by a body of the said rebels, at Kilburn mountain aforesaid, on the nineteen of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thousands of the rebels were assembled and arrayed for the purpose of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill in said county: and that the said camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey and father Roche, a priest. That the said rebels, in said camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to Foulkes's mill aforesaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majesty's forces. That the said rebels returned on one night of the twentieth of June,

to the said camp, at Three-rock hill aforesaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the said rebels fled in different directions, some towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in said county. Informant saith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in said county, having a great number of protestants in it, was consumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to said barn on the seventh day of said month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who perished therein, for the purpose of interring it; but informant saith, he could not distinguish one body from another, from the injuries the said bodies sustained from the fire. That some of said bodies were entirely consumed, that the heads and limbs of others were also consumed, but the bodies remained entire, and very much discoloured. That the features of such persons as were not consumed, were so black and so discoloured, that he could not distinguish one from the other. That the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the floor. That some of the said bodies lay against the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the said bodies lay near the door of said barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the sake of fresh air, to prevent suffocation. Informant saith, that he found a guard of rebels at said barn, and that one of the said rebels told informant, and some others who were with informant, and seemingly with much joy and pleasure, that he, the said rebel, had been assisting in burning said barn, and in shooting a number of protestant prisoners, who were bu-

ried in the gripe of a ditch, which said rebel shewed, with much seeming satisfaction, to informant, and those who accompanied him. Informant saith, that said rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine persons were consumed in said barn, or shot at Scullabogue aforesaid, and that said rebel turned to one of his comrades, and said, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that said rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at said barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the said bodies showed evident marks of having been stirred, and as the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

Sworn before me, this 20th day  
of September, 1793.

WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

*Redmond Mitchell's Trial.*

ON the trial of Redmond Mitchell, *alias* Miskelly, held at Wexford, the 18th of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyalists, being armed with a firelock, with the butt end of which he was knocking and battering such of the prisoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-house. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much bespattered with

blood, which, and a watch, he obtained from Loftus Frizzel, a prisoner in the dwelling-house, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only prisoners that made their escape. He was so much admired by the rebels, for his sanguinary and ferocious disposition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr Frizzel his shoes on getting his boots. Mr Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, hoping that he would save his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to set the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels in front were piking and firing on the prisoners, who drew in the door to protect themselves; that they put a bundle of lighted straw in at the door, which set fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the prisoners were destroyed; but many were shot dead before.

### *Trial of Matthew Furlong, &c.*

ON the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills swore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to stand guard over the loyalists who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were resisted, till three men arrived and said, that a certain priest had given orders that the prisoners should be put to death; on which the

rebels all set about the murders, and it was impossible to say who was most active. Orders were given to put any man to death who should quit his post at the barn. A man ordered the witness to guard the door, and not let the loyalists out. The roof was on fire, and the loyalists were trying to force open the door to effect their escape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the prisoner was one; and he made several stabs of his pike at those who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on striking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and straightened his pike there. Patrick Kerrivan swore, that the prisoner, in assisting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more straw. That he saw him strike with a spear a man who was endeavouring to make his escape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on the 14th of September, 1799, it appeared, that he was raising the thatch of the barn for the admission of fire, and that he was followed by persons with lighted bushes, who were putting them into the apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, speared a man who was endeavouring to make his escape. That the prisoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to sharpen his pike; and on being asked, whether they were all dead? the prisoner replied, "I'll engage they are all settled."

September 27th, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of assassins, coming from Tintern with a drove of protestants, met another at some distance from Scullabogue, with Mr Milward Giffard and John Moran in their custody, and that the two parties joining, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the prisoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the messenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy to put the prisoners to death, said they were sent by father Murphy, which corresponds with the following affidavit of Michael Askins.

*County of Wexford,* } MICHAEL ASKINS, having  
*to wit.* } been duly sworn on the Holy  
 Evangelists, deposeth and saith, That on the fifth of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Ross; that when the party got within three miles of Ross, they met a man riding very fast, who seemed by his dress, to be a priest. That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and destroy every soul in it. Deponent saith, that the party he was with said, he was the stoutest priest in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That soon after deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they saw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and



the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty persons were destroyed in the barn, amongst whom were twenty-eight women and fifteen children ; and deponent says, he heard the same from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.

his  
MICHAEL X ASKINS,  
mark.

Sworn before me, this 18th day  
of January, 1799.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

*Feathard and Scullabogue.*

ON Saturday the 26th of May, a band of assassins, roaming the country in quest of loyalists, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joshua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and seized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both protestants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burnt: the former was servant to the rev. Mr Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly escaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr Kennedy, to put him to death ; he exclaimed very much against protestants, and said they deserved to be punished. Some of the protestants inhabitants of Feathard saved their lives by going to mass, and by assuming the semblance of sincere conversion. The rev.

father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, advised them to do so, as the means of preserving their lives. William Hurdis, a witness on Colfer's trial, swore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of assassins, made him swear to be true to the catholic war. These facts were proved on the trial of Joshua Colfer, before a court-martial, held at Waterford the 3d of December, 1798, by order of general Johnson. Colfer had been malster to Mr Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, resided there constantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the protestants.

James Murphy, a witness on the trial of Colfer, and servant of the rev. Mr Kennedy, swore, That the prisoner asked him whether he would kill his master, and declared that he would kill him if he would not. He said also, that all orange-men should be killed.

Philip Clarke, a protestant, and son of Mr Clarke the brewer, who employed the prisoner, declared, that he (Colfer) desired him and his brother to be christened by a priest, and sent for a popish manual, to have him, his brother and sisters, taught their catechism; that, his brother and sisters, and other protestants of Feathard, were saved merely because they were considered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, and brother-in-law of Tweedy, followed him crying, upon which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On Saturday the 2d of June, another band of assassins, headed by the same Michael Devereux, of Battletours, arrived there and swept away all the protestants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as most of them had escaped, or were doing duty in a yeomanry corps at Duncannon fort. The rebels were so zealous in this service, that they locked up such protestants as they seized, while they went in quest of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable instance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Hennesy and James Savage, and was locked up in the house of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his escape through a back window, and concealed himself in ditches till Sunday, the 5th of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been before consumed. Michael Devereux having visited Feathard again, on 3d of June, with another gang, seized Mrs Duffield, aged seventy-five, Mrs Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and respectable Roman catholic, solicited the release of the prisoners; and on his knees, he implored him to discharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpose, as he said he could not release him, consistent with his own safety. This shewed that he acted by the orders of his superiors, who were supplied with lists of the protestant inhabitants of every parish.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, discharged them, gave them a pass to return, and ordered that no more women and children should be taken prisoners. On the 9th of June, one Thomas M'Daniel, a sanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in search of Elizabeth Ennis, a protestant, who had escaped all their former searches; and when discovered, she threw herself on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own house. When M'Daniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs Jones placed herself between him and it, and said they must first murder her. She also assured him, that she was no longer a protestant, having been christened by the priest, and was become a Roman catholic. The poor trembling wretch's life was saved by Mrs Jones's firmness, and her assurances of her conversion.

After that period, such of the protestants as remained at Feathard were saved by going to mass.

Father Doyle, the priest, assembled them in a house, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion.

These facts were proved on the trial of Devereux,

Colfer, Haughran, and some othes concerned in this atrocious business.

# No. VII.

*County of Wexford,* } **RICHARD GRANDY**, of Bally-  
*to wit.* } shan, in said county, came be-  
before us his majesty's justices of the peace, and made  
oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he this examinant  
was attacked and seized at the cross roads of Kilbride,  
on Sunday the third of June, between the hours of  
nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was return-  
ing from a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by  
several persons armed with guns, pikes, spears; that  
amongst the number were Michael Poor, Thomas  
Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Colhoun,  
Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John Moran, and  
Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforesaid, with many  
others, whose names examinant did not know, though  
their faces were familiar to him; he was conducted  
from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, in  
said county, and in the afternoon of the same day was  
brought to Mr King's house at Scullabogue; that he  
was introduced into a room where he saw Bagenal Har-  
vey, of Bargy-Castle, esquire; William Devereux,  
of Taghmon; Francis Breen; Nicholas Sweetman, of  
New-Bawn; with a few more whom he did not know,  
but believes that John Colclough, esq. of Ballyteigue,  
and a son of William Devereux aforesaid, were of  
the number; that he was closely examined by Bagenal  
Harvey as to the state of Ross and Duncannon fort,

and whether he was an orange man or a united man ; that the said Bagenal Harvey pressed him to take the united man's oath, and become one of their community ; that at last he obtained a pass from said Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the rebel guard stationed there ; that he was conducted back again to Collopswell, where he met with said Bagenal Harvey and said Nicholas Sweetman ; that Nicholas Sweetman signed the pass he got from Bagenal Harvey before ; that he had not gone far before the pass had been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken prisoner to Scullabogue house, where he was confined till Tuesday morning, with several other protestants ; that about nine o'clock John Murphy, of Loughnageer, (who had the command of the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners) had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company, till thirty-five were massacred ; that the spear-men used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through, and with exultation licking their bloody spears ; that whilst this horrid scene was acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred protestants, as examinant heard and believes, was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes ; that examinant's life was spared because Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a pass, and that through his intercession with Murphy, Loftus Frizzel was likewise spared ; that they were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Ross, where they met Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, of Johnstown in said county, Wil-



liam Devereux, and many others retreating from the battle of Ross.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the said Murphy to take the two prisoners to his lodging at Collopswell, where he had given a pass to Loftus Frizzel, but refused to give one to examinant, for fear he should come and report what he had seen and heard at Duncannon fort; that deponent heard, and believes it to be a fact that said Cornelius Grogan \* had the command of the barony of Forth rebel troops at the battle of Ross; that deponent was taken to Foulke's mills that night, where he continued for two days under a guard, dressing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty, where he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy of said place, to pass and re-pass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded. That he was sent to Taghmon, where the sitting rebel magistrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joseph Cullomore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the priest's pass have gone back and remained there; that he strolled along the sea-side, till at last he effected his escape across the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the 22d inst. and from thence to Duncannon fort this morning; that he often heard it reported, whilst in custody, that John Colclough, and Thomas Macord, both of Tintern in said county, were very active in promoting the

---

\* It has been since ascertained, that this unfortunate gentleman never acted with the rebels, but by compulsion.

rebellion; that he saw John Devereux jun. of Shilbeggan, in said county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the 4th inst. and that he seemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewise saw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange, in said county, at the camp at Carrickbyrne amongst the rebels, very busy and active to promote their cause. Deponent further saith, that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy aforesaid, parish priest of Bannow; and that after mass he heard him preach a sermon, in which he said, "Brethren, you see you are victorious every where—that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you—that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and the few of you that have fallen, was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith—that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the hereticks, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true catholic religion be established."—And deponent saith, this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and that he heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect; that he likewise heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further saith, that every protestant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was first baptized by a priest; and that every protestant that refused to be baptized was put to death: and

that many, to save their lives, did suffer themselves to be baptized.

RICHARD GRANDY..

Sworn before us, 23d June, 1798.

GEORGE OGLE.

ISAAC CORNICK.

JOHN H. LYSTER..

JOHN KENNEDY..

No. VIII.—VOL. II. p. 253:

THE DESCENT MADE BY JAMES NAPPER TANDY..

*Rutland, six o'clock P. M. Sunday,  
Sept. 16th, 1798.*

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, Napper Tandy at their head. They immediately enquired for the post-office, and came and posted a centinel at the door to prevent my sending off immediately: They demanded (though very politely) some victuals, with which they were furnished. I had a good deal of conversation with Tandy: When they found that their friends here had surrendered and were made prisoners of war, they seemed a good deal confounded; and, after taking a slight repast, re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulse of the people, about which he particularly enquired. I reported this neighbourhood, as far as I knew, to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he seemed surprised ; he says, the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in is called the Anacreon, about twelve days from Brest ; they saw several English cruisers, but out-sailed them all.

I have sent expresses to Ballyshannon and Letterkenny.—They intend returning to France directly ; they came north about by Scotland. Enclosed is a paper, A, several of which I understand they have distributed ; also a certificate, B, signed by the officers, exonerating me from censure for admitting them into my house.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty-five miles.

I am, sir,

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *Dep. P. M. Rutland.*

*John Lees, esquire.*

*Rutland, September 17th, Monday,  
eight o'clock in the morning.*

SIR,

I YESTERDAY (by post) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour and landing three boats full of men ; there were a number of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy, a brigadier, and commander of the expedition. Tandy, being an old acquaintance, was communicative ; he says, positively, that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish independence ; he appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French descent, and of the discoveries made by Bond, M'Nevin, Emmit, &c. but said, they will certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, and perish all or succeed ; he was astonished when I told him that very few had joined the French ; they took every pains to convince the people that they were their best friends, and such stuff ; they took a cow and two swine, for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to sea, towards the N. East. I have dispatched an express, (a second one) to the collector of Letterkenny and am in hopes that some of the Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met several cruisers between England and France, but outsailed them all ; they came north about. They were full of arms, the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yesterday) until ten o'clock at night ; they

report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole county was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends ; the natives here all fled to the mountains, and seem not at all inclined to join them ; we have not a military man nearer than Ballyshannon forty miles, or Letterkenny twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here ready to receive one hundred men ; they had a great number of Irish on board, their force about two hundred and fifty men ; and are perfectly acquainted with the coast. Their drift is evidently to encourage disaffection. I was a prisoner in my own house four or five hours, until the post came in ; they had centinels on every point of the island, to prevent intelligence being immediately dispatched. I am just informed by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here, but upon a consultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *P. M. Rutland.*

On their leaving my house, the general (Rey) took a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to Mrs Foster, as a token of fraternity ;—thus they cajole and insidiously endeavour to gain the weak and the ignorant, to the total dissolution of subordination and



obedience to authority, without which society cannot exist !

*John Lees, esquire.*

*Papers distributed among the inhabitants of Rutland  
by Napper Tandy on his landing there.*

PAPER, A.

## LIBERTY OR DEATH !

*Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the  
first year of Irish Liberty.*

UNITED IRISHMEN !

THE soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers ; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessing of liberty.

James Napper Tandy is at their head ; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your rights ; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

French blood shall not flow in vain—To arms ! freemen, to arms ! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted ; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

GENERAL REY,

*In the name of the French officers and  
soldiers now on the coast of Ireland.*

## LIBERTY OR DEATH !

*Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the  
first year of Irish Liberty.*

General J. N. Tandy to his countrymen.

UNITED IRISHMEN !

WHAT do I hear ? the British government have dared to speak of concessions ! would you accept of them ?

Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister ? a minister too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste and massacred inhumanly your best citizens ; a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind ; behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace ; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed

with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no ! you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues ; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you, let his efforts be vain.

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country ; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause ; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance ; it is your duty to avenge their death ; it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals. Irishmen wage a war of extirpation against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

PAPER, B.

*Rutland island, 30th Fructidor.*

HAVING landed from on board the *Anacreon* (a republican vessel from the coast of France) on Rutland island, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the necessity of putting the citizen Foster, post-master of that town or island, under requisition, and prevented him from sending off his packet ; we at the same time discharg-

ed every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from said place.

AMIEL, colonel,  
*aid-de-camp du gl. Desjardin*

TANDY, general of brigade, and commander of the expedition.

C. LUXEMBURG,  
*capt. d'artillerie.*

REY.

LE DUC, capitaine.

BLACKWELL, adjutant-general

JOSEPH, capt. *et aid-de-camp.*

## No. IX.

### VINEGAR HILL.

*Facts discovered on the trial of Andrew Farrel, a rebel captain; hanged at Wexford, 1800.*

By the evidence of William Furlong, a protestant, it appeared, that he was taken prisoner by the rebels on Whitsun Tuesday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he saw the rev. Mr Pentland and the rev. Mr Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists. Farrel had a sword in his hand, and was called captain of the rebels. He desired the loyalists to fall on their knees and prepare for death, as they should be killed immediately. He then seized Mr Pentland, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he resisted as much as he could. He was instantly put to death,

and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the same fate. Andrew Farrel told the witness, that he must know where there were arms and ammunition in Enniscorthy, and that he should be saved if he discovered where they were. He said he would ; and on going there, his life was saved by a man who had been malster to his uncle. He saw Farrel distributing gunpowder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the persons who were in the windmill escaped death.

Francis Bradley saw Farrel conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Annesley, a protestant, who desired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, because he said Farrel was taking him to be killed ; but witness was afraid to comply with his request.

Henry Whitney, a protestant, who had been prisoner in the windmill, saw Mr Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five more were put to death at the same time. He saw their bodies lie dead outside of the windmill. Mr Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay separate from the rest.

When the prisoners were desired to go upon their knees and prepare for death, messrs. Pentland and Trocke expostulated, and begged they might be saved, as they were both clergymen. The former said he was a northern man, and had been but a short time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witness, was a prisoner in the windmill, on Whitsun-Tuesday. The party who conducted him into it said, "Captain Farrel (pointing to Gill) there is an orangeman." Gill asked Farrel to save his life, as he saw him much in the esteem of the rebels. He asked him his name. He answered, Gill. Farrel replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. (Gill was a protestant name in the county of Wexford.) John Gill of Monglass was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were some men on horseback. On being led out, he addressed the rebels, and asked them, if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who stood inside the line with a drawn sword, cried out, "Damn your soul, do you come here to preach?" made a stab at him, and wounded him in the wrist. Some of the rebels desired Martin to stop, and asked Gill how he would choose to die? He replied, as a Christian. A man on horseback said, are you a Christian? He answered, that he believed in the Saviour of the world, and that he hoped to be saved through him. Martin then said, "Oh! damnation to your soul, you are a Christian in your own way," and directly stabbed him in the side. He then fell on his face, and was stabbed in the back, and beat on the head with some heavy instrument. He still continued in his senses. His brother was next brought out, and having been asked the same question, boldly answered that he would die a protestant; on which he was instantly put to death.



Witness then fainted, and continued insensible till his wife came for him in the evening, and she found great difficulty in saving him, as there was an old man with a scythe examining the bodies, and striking it on the head of such of them as had any signs of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill where, finding that he had some appearance of life, she concealed his body. Next morning he was discovered by a party of rebels, where he was saved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and stunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable state; but at last recovered, and is still alive.

John Austin was taken prisoner and conducted to Enniscorthy by one captain West, when Farrel was on parade with some rebels. West said, "Captain Farrel, here is an orangeman." Farrel ordered him to a rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists; and swore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr Robinson who was there, begged that Farrel would save them. Austin was saved by the intercession of a rebel. John Mooney swore, he saw Farrel head a party at the attack of Borris, the seat of Mr Kavenah. That after it, he saw him sworn in a captain, on which father Kearns, the priest, kissed him. He was called St Ruth.

David Ogden, a witness, swore, he was taken prisoner by Farrel at Mr Wheeler's house, where he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr Wheeler, to conduct them, as he said, to Vinegar-hill; but they were released by one M'Lean, who threatened to go to the hill and discover there, that Farrel, on the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, disguised in woman's clothes, was robbing, instead of fighting the king's army.

### No. X.

*County of the city of Dublin,* } THE examination of  
*to wit.* } corporal Sheppard of  
 the Royal Irish artillery, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and saith, That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken prisoner on the thirtieth day of May last, at a place called the mountain of Forth within three miles of Wexford aforesaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the said Royal Irish artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the said mountain. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said rebels had made him and his comrades prisoners, they were going to put them to death; but that previous to their doing so, one of the said rebels asked them what religion they were of; and that a private of the said Royal Irish artillery, whose name is Patrick Dungannon, replied, that they were all Roman catho-

licks, though examinant saith, that he and five more of his said comrades were protestants. Examinant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put the whole of said party instantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholics. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades were conducted as prisoners to Wexford, on the said thirtieth of May, and put into prison; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed to different apartments. Examinant saith, that while a prisoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a small square in the gaol to be shot, and that on being placed against a wall in said square, they the said rebels burned priming four times at examinant with a musket; on which father John Murphy, a priest, who had entered the said goal, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer to live; and at the same time, the said priest said, "Let the heathen go back to prison, and be damned." Examinant saith, that while he and his comrades were in prison, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent, as the said rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not stand as guards over hereticks; and that the officers of the said rebels with the greatest difficulty prevented the said rebels from putting them to death. Examinant saith, that during ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours.

Examinant saith, that during his confinement, the said rebels took out many prisoners to execute them ; and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the said prisoners never returned to the prison ; and he this examinant was informed that they had been shot or put to death with pikes in the Bull-ring, or in some other part of the town. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades were asked to serve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche the brother-in-law of said Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and passed for a rebel general ; and that said Dixon and Roche promised examinant and his comrades commissions in the rebel army, and estates in some time, if they would serve in said army. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their escape from Wexford, complied with the desire of said Dixon, and the said Roche. Examinant saith, that he, and three of his comrades were conducted by the said rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June last, where examinant found three of his said comrades before him in said camp, and some soldiers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken prisoners. Examinant saith, that on the morning of the day that the said rebels marched from the said camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a priest, who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a sermon of exhortation to the said rebels, in which the said Murphy assured the said rebels that they were

fighting in the cause of God ; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the sooner they would go to heaven ; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be sure of immediate salvation ; that said Murphy took some bullets out of his pockets, shewed them to the rebels, and assured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That said Murphy said further in said sermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the hereticks, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant saith, that another priest of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour ; that then they would be joined by twenty thousand men ; and that they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin. Examinant saith, that said rebels wherever they marched, put to death such protestants as fell into their hands ; saying often on such occasions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there should be but one religion. Examinant saith, that said rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforesaid, and just after the battle of Arklow, put many protestants to death, though they had served with the said rebels in said battle ; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blacksmith, some of said rebels pleaded in his favour, having said, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them ; but that father John Murphy said, that if there was but one drop of protestant blood in a family, they ought to put that family to death ; and



that said Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant saith, he repaired with the said rebels from Gorey, to a place, to the best of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence to Tinnehely, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that said rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill aforesaid, killed all the protestants they could get into their custody. Informant saith, that he and his comrades made their escape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

*Sworn before me, this 7th of September, 1798.*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

We, the undersigned officers of the Royal Irish artillery, do certify that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in the said corps, is a man of an honest fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September, fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, *colonel commandant, lieutenant-general,*

RICHARD BETTESWORTH, *colonel commandant, major-general,*

H. SNEYD, *major, Royal Irish artillery,*

JOHN PRATT, *lieutenant-colonel, colonel brevet,*

W. WRIGHT, *lieutenant-colonel,*

J. D. ARABIN, *lieutenant-colonel.*



No. XI. p. 238.

GENERAL HUMBERT'S LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF  
KILLALLA.

*“ Dover, October 26, 1798.*

“ My Lord,

“ Being on the point of returning to France, I think it my duty to testify to you the extraordinary esteem with which your conduct has always inspired me. Since I have had the good fortune of being acquainted with you, I have always regretted that the chance of war, and my duty as a military officer, have obliged me, in carrying the scourge of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic happiness which you enjoyed, and of which you are in every respect worthy. Too happy, if in returning into my country, I can flatter myself that I have acquired any claim to your esteem. Independently of other reasons which I have for loving and esteeming you, the representation which citizen Charost gives me of all your good offices to him and his officers, as well before as after the reduction of Killalla, will demand for ever my esteem and gratitude.

“ I entreat you, my lord, to accept my declaration of it, and to impart it to your worthy family.

“ I am, with the highest esteem,

“ My lord,

“ your most humble servant,

“ HUMBERT.”

*An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them.*

	£.	s.	d.
Antrim - - - - -	17729	3	4½
Carlow - - - - -	24854	14	7
Cavan - - - - -	61	16	9
Cork - - - - -	2501	14	11½
Clare - - - - -	856	9	11½
Down - - - - -	12129	—	8
Dublin - - - - -	25829	16	—½
Galway - - - - -	4814	—	3
Kerry - - - - -	149	4	2½
Kildare - - - - -	97090	2	11
Kilkenny - - - - -	27352	8	9½
King's county - - - - -	2461	19	7
Limerick - - - - -	22	9	6
Londonderry - - - - -	7	19	3
Leitrim - - - - -	2316	19	1½
Longford - - - - -	1046	14	10½
Mayo - - - - -	120553	11	4½
Meath - - - - -	14597	9	3½
Queen's County - - - - -	1586	9	3½
Roscommon - - - - -	325	19	7
Sligo - - - - -	15769	14	9½
Tipperary - - - - -	1577	9	8
Waterford - - - - -	1321	18	9
Westmeath - - - - -	2808	13	4
Wexford - - - - -	515191	8	5
Wicklow - - - - -	130379	17	0
Total	£102'337	5	4

F I N I S.

